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# ***Daily Report***

## **East Europe**

FBIS-EEU-93-136  
Monday  
19 July 1993

# Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-93-136

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19 July 1993

NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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**Tudjman, Milosevic Talk; Izetbegovic Expected in Geneva**

*AU1707150093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Report by Dragan Colovic from Geneva]

[Text] After [word indistinct] Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman continued their talks over lunch. The talks started at approximately 1130.

The well-informed circles [words indistinct] on former Yugoslavia claim that the Bosnian issue occupies the central place in the talks, that is, the Serbian-Croatian initiative to end the crisis and civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The well-known proposal of confederal constitution for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would consist of three republics, is being discussed. As opposed to this Serbian-Croatian proposal, the Muslim side recently put forward its own proposal of federal constitution for this former Yugoslav republic. Until now the Muslim side avoided direct talks.

[Words indistinct], spokesman for the international conference on former Yugoslavia, last night announced the possibility of leader of the Bosnian Muslims Alija Izetbegovic appearing in Geneva next week, which would finally pave the way for direct tripartite negotiations. A sudden visit of Haris Silajdzic, foreign minister of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, to Geneva is doubtlessly also connected to this.

**Milosevic, Tudjman Issue Statement**

*LD1707153993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] Geneva, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman made the following statement after their meeting held at the organization of the cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen. The statement was submitted to TANJUG from Geneva:

"1. All speculations about the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina between Croatia and Serbia are completely unfounded.

"2. The only way to achieve lasting peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina can be found in the reaffirmation of the interests of all three constituent nations and in their consent on establishing three republics within the framework of a confederation.

"3. Expressing satisfaction about the achieved solution to the problem of the Maslenica bridge, Zemunik [airport], and Peruca [dam], the presidents have welcomed the agreement on the end of hostilities. They believe that each individual or group violating the agreement must bear full responsibility. The presidents have drawn attention to the importance of the agreement—which

shows that problems can be solved in a peaceful way—assessing the agreement as an important step toward the normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations as a whole."

[Dated] Geneva, 17 July 1993

[Signed] Slobodan Milosevic, President of the Republic of Serbia

Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia

**Milosevic Discusses Talks**

*LD1707173493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] Geneva, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—I believe that this was an important conversation with representatives of the conference on former Yugoslavia. We discussed two separate issues: A solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis and the agreement signed yesterday by the Croatian Government as well—the agreement proposed after the talks with representatives of the republic of Serb Krajina, Slobodan Milosevic told journalists after today's talks in Geneva with Franjo Tudjman and the cochairmen Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

"As far as Bosnia-Herzegovina is concerned, there was hardly a question that we did not tackle during the meeting," said Milosevic, stressing that the talks were thorough and that he was greatly encouraged by "complete consent in respect of the concept that we proposed—i.e. that a realistic and successful solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina is possible on the basis of the establishment of three republics, the Serb republic, the republic of Herceg-Bosna and the Muslim republic, within a confederation."

This, explained the Serbian president, is "the content of the proposal we advocated and I would say that this solution withstood the critical test of our in-depth talks. It is truly a great encouragement to see that our views are completely identical and we hope that the Muslim side will accept such an approach. After all, they advocated a unitary republic, which is what is on offer, but of course it will not encompass the same territory as the one they had counted upon. They are offered a solution that enables them to have a unitary Muslim republic on the territory of central Bosnia. This is a very just proposition and all three sides will discuss it."

"In that respect I really do not see any reason why negotiations between the three sides should further be postponed," President Milosevic said adding: "After all, as we insisted right from the very beginning, an agreement which ought to be achieved should equally affirm interests of all three nations, among other things also regarding constituting the three republics that will make up the confederation within the framework of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"Regarding Serbian-Croatian relations, I believe that the five point agreement reached between representatives of the republic of Serb Krajina and the Republic of Croatia

regarding a cease-fire, represents a good example of how contentious issues can more effectively be resolved peacefully than in a war. You saw that the Serbian side made an enormous gesture of goodwill toward the Croatian side, and I understand that the consent that the Croatian side gave last night to signing the proposal is also a gesture of goodwill by the Croatian side," Slobodan Milosevic said.

"In this regard, President Tudjman and I together came to a conclusion that such an agreement between Krajina and Croatia ought to be welcomed and that efforts ought to be made in searching for solutions for the remaining contentious issues in a negotiated way and with the observance of mutual interests. Therefore, I hold that this meeting can mark further enhancement of understanding of the Yugoslav crisis, both when it comes to representatives of the international community and when it comes to our mutual understanding, which represents a step nearer to the final solution of the overall crisis," the Serbian president said.

Milosevic went on to stress that there were many speculations by the international public with regard to the alleged secret Serbian-Croatian agreement on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"You know that there were very serious speculations by the international public on some sort of a secret agreement on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina between myself and Tudjman, i.e. that Serbia and Croatia should divide Bosnia-Herzegovina. These speculations are completely unfounded. From the very beginning, as you know, we have advocated that a solution to the crisis in Bosnia should be based on the equal respect of the interests of all three nations. Consequently, our proposal also refers to the establishment of three and not two republics, i.e. a division into three parts, that will express and reaffirm the interests of all three nations," Slobodan Milosevic said.

"The very fact that we are advocating this solution implies that we cannot advocate any other one," President Milosevic said adding, in conclusion:

"We sincerely support this solution because we believe it to be fair and viable and, for reasons given above, a solution that will lead to peace and the reaffirmation of the interests of the three sides in the quickest possible way. I therefore believe that this solution will have international support."

#### **Tudjman Views Talks**

*LD1707193593 Zagreb HTV Television in  
Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Here is a report from Geneva:

[Correspondent] The town hall in the old part of Geneva was the new location for the fresh round of talks today, between two presidents, presidents of Croatia and Serbia, with the cochairmen. In addition to Franjo Tudjman, the following attended the talks: Hrvoje Sarinic,

the president's adviser for national security, and Miomir Zuzul, Croatian ambassador to Geneva. Slobodan Milosevic was accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Vladimir Jovanovic.

It was announced that the main topic was Bosnia-Herzegovina, its future organization. In addition to the existing proposals there was a question whether there were some new ones. What did these talks bring? A joint statement, about which the Croatian president gave a statement immediately after the talks ended.

[Begin Tudjman recording] In the presence of the cochairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia Lord Owen, Thorvald Stoltenberg, and their assistant Ahtisari, President Milosevic and I discussed all issues in connection with the crisis in former Yugoslavia, particularly of course, regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the UN protected areas in Croatia. We have got a statement that you will be given in which we have established, together stated:

First, that any speculations about an agreement between Croatia and Serbia on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina are completely unfounded.

Second, we are of the opinion that the way to achieve the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is on the basis of an agreement of all three constituent nations living there, on a confederal basis, as it has been agreed in talks hitherto.

Third, or if you want, first, which is very important for us, both President Milosevic and I have said in the statement that we welcome the agreement on Maslenica bridge, Zadar airport, and the Peruca dam, that we deem each individual, each group violating the agreement, in the sense of a cease-fire, in the sense of thwarting further negotiations, must bear full responsibility. That agreement is the first step in the peaceful resolution of the entire spectrum of problems, not only regarding the UN protected areas, but also Croatian-Serbian relations.

I think that this shows the resolve of both presidents to continue in that sense with their efforts to find a peaceful solution. Unfortunately, we received some reports that the Serb side was pounding Maslenica bridge; Stoltenberg and Owen informed me about that, asking me to intervene so that the Croatian side should not respond. To which I replied that the Croatian side will not retaliate if the Serb side stops. Milosevic took upon himself the task and made a phone call. At the table he informed us that he had phoned and that the Serb side would stop and that there would be no such incidents any more. I likewise ordered the relevant people in Zagreb by phone not to retaliate and told them that we shall see whether this will be observed.

I hope that with this meeting we have created conditions to remove those who are in favor of further violation and hostilities and that this will be a way not only to restore traffic at Maslenica bridge and Zadar airport, but also to resolve a series of other issues, the restoration of traffic

on other roads, power transmission lines, etc. Generally, aimed at the normalization, as we said, in Croatian-Serbian relations.

[Correspondent] So this is now the beginning of the overall normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations.

[Tudjman] Yes, yes. The importance of this meeting lies in that and I hope that there will be results. [end recording] [passage omitted]

#### Stoltenberg, Owen on Talks

LD1707202293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2006  
GMT 17 Jul 93

[Text] Geneva, July 17 (TANJUG)—Cochairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg said here on Saturday [17 July] that the agreement between the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia to refrain from military actions concerning the Maslenica bridge and the Zemunik airport was of vital importance for the entire peace process in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Croatia and the RSK have signed an agreement on reopening to traffic the Maslenica bridge and the Zemunik airport, which are situated in the United Nations Protected Area (UNPA) in the RSK territory.

The Croatian Army occupied the facilities during an offensive launched on the RSK on January 22.

Under the agreement, Croatia is bound on its part to withdraw its troops from the occupied parts of the RSK territory.

After talks with President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, the other cochairman, Lord David Owen, told journalists that the meeting had been very useful.

He reminded that the tension which had been growing over the past three weeks had threatened to escalate into an armed conflict between Serbs and Croats.

The danger now seems to be significantly reduced, said Owen.

He added, however, that shelling had been reported on Saturday while the talks were under way, which, in his view, showed how sensitive the situation still was.

Speaking about the situation in the war-battered former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Owen said that all experts predicted major difficulties in the area of humanitarian operations next winter, of which Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic was also aware.

Asked by journalists whether chances for restoring peace in Bosnia looked any better after today's meeting, Owen cautiously expressed his wish that this may be so. Answering the question of whether Milosevic and Tudjman's proposal on a confederal Bosnia would be acceptable to the Bosnian Rump Presidency (loyal to Izetbegovic), Owen said that the decision was theirs.

In Owen's view, the most important fact is that Milosevic and Tudjman had jointly stated that they had no interest in dividing Bosnia between Croatia and Serbia and that Bosnia would remain an entity recognized by the United Nations. This, in his opinion, gives guarantees for Bosnia's territorial integrity.

Owen attached special importance to this because there is fear that Bosnia's division into three republics could lead to secession and disintegration.



**Central Europe Initiative Summit Held****CEI Declaration**

*LD1807120993 Budapest MTI in English 1525 GMT  
17 Jul 93*

["Text" of the declaration approved at the Central European Initiative in Budapest on 17 July]

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (MTI)

**Political Part**

The prime ministers of Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia having met at the annual summit of the Central European Initiative (CEI) held on 16-17 July 1993 in Budapest:

confirm the acceptance of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic as member states of the CEI as from January 1, 1993 and welcome the participation of both republics in the initiative as from that date;

take note with satisfaction of the outcome of the exchange of views of the foreign ministers on the renewed application of the Republic of Macedonia for entry into the CEI and welcome it as a member according to the formula (FYR of Macedonia) adopted in the United Nations;

reaffirm the importance of regional cooperation in strengthening the solidarity and unity of all European nations, stress its special role in supporting new democracies in their continuing efforts towards the goal of internal reform, economic growth and full participation in the European integration process, underline the importance of the successful fulfillment of these goals for peace, democracy and stability in the central European region and in Europe;

note with satisfaction the declaration by the Group of Seven expressing the further encouragement of the group to promote cooperation and reforms in the former centralized economies, based on the principle of help for self-help and partnership;

welcome the conclusions of the presidency of the European Council adopted on 21-22 June in Copenhagen, especially its agreement that the associated countries in Central and Eastern Europe that so desire shall become members of the European Union as soon as they are able to assume the obligations of membership by satisfying the economic and political conditions required, also appreciated that several concrete measures are foreseen, particularly a multilateral framework for a strengthened dialogue and consultations on matters of common interest the associated countries welcome this positive step forward and expect further development in this direction;

support the efforts of other CEI members aimed at their association and integration with the European Community;

follow with particular attention and sympathy the efforts made by the president of the Russian Federation and other democratic forces in Russia to proceed on the way of political and economic reforms and expect consequent implementation of these reforms, keeping in mind that the stability of the Russian Federation is one of the basic preconditions for worldwide stability and security, welcome the increased international assistance for the democratic transformation and restructuring of the country, including the decision of the Group of Seven to provide, in cooperation with international financial institutions, enterprise restructuring support and technical assistance for Russia's transformation into a market economy;

deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, call for immediate cease-fire and end of hostilities, support the efforts of the international community aiming at promoting a fair and viable settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina acceptable to all the three parties involved, particularly the UNSC Resolutions 827, 836, 838 and 844, the European Council declaration at Copenhagen and the Tokyo Summit political declaration and the work of the cochairmen of the steering committee of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, reaffirm their commitment to a negotiated solution based on the principles of the London conference, reflected in the Vance-Owen peace plan, particularly the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the protection of human rights and rights of minorities, the refusal of accepting all consequences of ethnic cleansings, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, the vital need for humanitarian aid to be provided and reach those in need, the prosecution of war crimes and breaches of international humanitarian law and the return of refugees, express the opinion that any settlement should be endorsed by a new session of the London conference, commit themselves to contribute to the full and immediate implementation of UNSC resolution on safe areas as an interim measure;

stress the importance of the recent UN Security Council decisions which clearly reaffirm that the UN Protected Areas [UNPAS] are an integral part of the Republic of Croatia, welcome the adoption of UNSC Resolution 847 on the three months prolongation of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] mandate in Croatia and the possibility of adequately adjusting, redefining and strengthening it within a month so as to assure a speedy and complete implementation of all objectives of the Vance plan, thus ensuring peace and restoration of the sovereignty of Croatia throughout its territory and the full reintegration of these areas in Croatia's social, economic, political and legal system, enabling at the same time the full implementation of the international commitments and the national legal acts on human and minority rights in the whole territory of the country, in the framework of the prolonged mandate of

UNPROFOR attach special importance to its possible involvement in the restoration and safe operation of infrastructure facilities in the UNPAS, including the reopening of the Adria-pipeline;

underline the necessity of a comprehensive solution for the problems existing in territories of former Yugoslavia, such solution will not be possible without the adoption and the implementation of general criteria for the protection of all minorities in the countries that have emerged following the collapse of former Yugoslavia, as proposed in the treaty provisions for the convention, elaborated by the EC Conference on Yugoslavia and, explicitly, by some successor states of former Yugoslavia, departing from the principle that all minorities, wherever they live, should be treated equally, higher standards of minority protection, including autonomy would be welcomed, it will be necessary for a final settlement to provide a special status of autonomy for minority groups forming a majority with certain areas;

commend the efforts of the countries in the region to enforce the mandatory sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) imposed by UN Security Council Resolutions 757, 787 and 820 and support their legitimate demand to receive compensation for their economic difficulties arising from the implementation of the economic and financial embargo;

recognizing that freedom, democracy and justice are closely interrelated with the full observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, stressing that violation of human and minority rights threaten international peace and security, and bearing in mind that there is a common need to preserve the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in the Central and Eastern European region, give mandate to the ad hoc group on minorities, henceforth transformed in a permanent working group, to continue its efforts to elaborate an instrument acceptable to all member states for the protection of minority rights based on internationally accepted principles, to be adopted within the CEI framework at a special ministerial conference to be held as soon as possible in Hungary, thus being a contribution to the work presently undertaken by the Council of Europe on the same matter, consider it desirable to establish, through that working group, close cooperation on minority issues with the CSCE and the Council of Europe with a view to introduce and apply internationally accepted principles for the protection of human and minority rights;

take note of the useful exchange of views on issues related to the Council of Europe, EC and CSCE undertaken at specific meetings of experts in Vienna, Rome and Prague respectively and mandate experts to consider appropriate means of promoting the interests of CEI member states in these fora, endorse also taking up within a new consultation group new subjects such as the urgent problems of refugees, illegal infiltration, extremist violence, xenophobia, including the root causes and means of confronting them;

reaffirm the open character of the CEI and its readiness to establish and develop cooperation with other regional organizations, cordially welcome the high representatives of the Council of Europe, the Danube Commission, Economic Commission for Europe, European Community, European Free Trade Association (EFTA), Black Sea European Cooperation, the Council of the Baltic Sea states and the working community Alps-Adriatic attending the present meeting and call for closer mutual contacts and information in specific fields at working groups' level with a view to improve cross-border cooperation by concerted actions;

extend greetings to mr. Mario Sarcinelli, vice-president of the EBRD, who expressed the bank's commitment to cooperate closely with the CEI not only through the secretariat for CEI projects which became operational as from January 1, 1993 due to the financial contribution of Italy, but also through the entire structure of the bank;

welcome the interest of Belarus, Bulgaria, Romania and Ukraine to strengthen their relations with the CEI, on the basis of the outcome of the second meeting of the Contact Committee, where the representative of Bavaria was invited as a special guest for the first time, look forward to the active participation of the above mentioned countries and Bavaria in the working groups, agree to extend invitations to experts from Belarus, Bulgaria, Romania and Ukraine also to the groups on political consultations;

note with satisfaction the further development of contacts between parliamentarians within the framework of CEI and welcome their parallel meeting in Budapest;

encourage the development of the social dimension in the framework of the CEI.

#### Economic Part

The prime ministers of the CEI member states, taking into consideration the political and economic challenges facing their countries as well as the international environment which seem to offer limited opportunities for substantial recovery in the short run:

pay particular attention to strengthening economic cooperation among its members and increasing its effectiveness, with special emphasis on assisting the development and stabilization of market economy in the countries in transition, to bring about closer collaboration among themselves and promote their future integration in the European Community, in this respect appreciate the Europe agreements concluded by several CEI member states as a substantial move towards their access to the future European Union, express the hope that such agreements would be concluded also by other member states;

welcome the conclusion of declarations on cooperation and free trade agreements between the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] states and most of the CEI countries;

welcome the agreement of the European Council expressed at its meeting in Copenhagen to accelerate the community's efforts to open up its markets and to make its assistance more effective, consider these measures as a pledge on the part of the community to continue supporting the reform process and speed up the accession of the associated countries;

express their satisfaction for the decision of the European Council that the community will make full use of the possibility foreseen under the temporary lending facility of the EIB [European Investment Bank] to finance trans-European network projects involving the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as its willingness to provide from PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary], under certain conditions, limited additional funds for capital expenditure, call upon national coordinators or the troika to approach the community in order to ascertain the possibilities of cooperation;

express their conviction that practical results and tangible benefits in economic cooperation are essential preconditions for maintaining and further developing CEI, raising its image in public awareness;

call upon the member states to intensify economic cooperation of both within the CEI and with international organizations and institutions, to this end endorse the suggestions on

- convening the meetings of the working groups, when appropriate, at ministerial level in order to give guidelines for their future activities and to express their political commitment,
- giving, in accordance with the result of the recent review carried out by the troika, a new profile to the working groups, by concentrating their future efforts on selected priority areas and projects which are economically and financially viable,
- reconsidering, on a case by case basis, the composition of the working groups or specific subgroups and the qualification of chairpersons from the viewpoint of their professional skills and managerial capabilities,
- introducing the most flexible ways of project implementation enabling the participation of private enterprises, financial institutions, universities, research institutions or any other interested parties, to this end project-oriented subgroups or special task forces could be established,
- recognizing as priority area the fostering of cooperation among small and medium-sized enterprises,
- improving the interaction and flow of information among the individual working groups in order to strengthen synergic effects and avoid duplications,
- reconfirming the need for close cooperation with the EBRD within the framework of the agreement of 12 November 1991 between the ministers of foreign

affairs of the Hexagonal member states and the president of the European Bank which came into force on 1 January 1993,

- making utmost use of the experience gained by other regional organizations, among others, the UN Economic Commission for Europe and the Alps-Adriatic working community;

support the elaboration and implementation of projects of transboundary cooperation involving neighbouring regions of the member states in accordance with the provisions of the Madrid convention of the Council of Europe;

call for concerted actions against the further deterioration of the environment in the region and urge measures for its possible improvement in the spirit of the strategy for the environmental action program for Central and Eastern Europe agreed upon by the European environmental ministers in April 1993 in Switzerland, in this context call the attention of the working group on environment to include in its program the examination of possible CEI contribution to the implementation of the main points of the action program;

express their appreciation of the performance of the working groups engaged in strengthening cooperation in other sectors, especially in the field of culture and information and encourage their future activities;

express their satisfaction with the activities of the working group on disaster relief which completed its task with the elaboration of the agreement on the prevention, forecast and mitigation of natural and technical disasters, request, however, the signatory countries to ratify the agreement in order to get it operational as soon as possible;

express their gratitude to the Government of Hungary for its hospitality and the excellent organization of the conference of the heads of government of the CEI member states.

#### Suchocka, Antall on Summit

LD1607212393 Warsaw PAP in English 2058 GMT  
16 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 16— Despite the fact that the conditions under which the Central European Initiative (CEI) was created in 1989 have considerably changed, the cooperation between CEI member-countries has shown that it is a necessary body which must continue to exist, Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, and her Hungarian opposite number Jozsef Antall said on Friday [16 July] in the Hungarian capital Budapest.

Speaking at the start of the two-day CEI summit, Prime Minister Suchocka said that the importance of the CEI had been emphasised by the fact that other countries in the region were seeking to join the organisation. The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will be



accepted for membership on Saturday, and applications from Romania and Ukraine are under consideration.

At a meeting on Friday between Hanna Suchocka and Jozsef Antall, the two heads of government also discussed the status of the Visegrad Group (Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic) as an organization capable of easing conflicts in the central European region.

While in the Hungarian capital, Ms Suchocka and Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus signed a bilateral treaty on the support and protection of mutual investments, a document seen as the basis for concrete economic cooperation between the two states.

The central European initiative was originally formed as the "Pentagonale," grouping together Italy, Austria, Hungary, the former Czecho-Slovakia, and the former Yugoslavia. After Poland joined its structures, it became known as the "Hexagonale," before assuming its present name on the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Its main aim is to foster regional cooperation among CEI member-states, although many projects cannot be realised, because of a lack of funds.

According to diplomatic sources in Budapest, there are hopes that the CEI could become a forum for the discussion of regional and ethnic conflicts in the region, particularly in the former Yugoslavia.

Following the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the former Yugoslav republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina joined the CEI as individual members. Slovakia and the Czech Republic are now also separately represented.

#### Meciar on CEI Meeting

*LD1607172793 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] At 1500 today, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar leaves for the Budapest meeting of the premiers of the Central European Initiative [CEI] countries. He will also hold bilateral talks with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus today. On the agenda are also talks with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. Earlier reports carried news of a letter from Antall to Czech Premier Klaus which allegedly conveyed Mr. Antall's wish for the final CEI resolution to include criticism of the Slovak Government's policy on minorities. Lubomir Lintner spoke to Prime Minister Meciar shortly before noon.

[Begin recording] [Lintner] What are you going to tell Premier Antall?

[Meciar] The situation during the time we are going to Budapest is a complex one, both for me personally and for the whole Slovak delegation. I do not know all the people who are supposed to have received the letter. All I know is that no such letter has been received in

Bratislava. The aim of the letter is to create an anti-Slovak atmosphere even before the talks begin. I don't think it will be successful this time.

However, the the Republic of Hungary does tend to make relationships steadily worse. It can be clearly felt. There are complications in our relations. One example is the new initiative in the Nagymaros water project area, where a dike, which is our property, is to be demolished. Other examples include the recent initiative by Hungary in the Council of Europe, and the events that preceded the current meeting.

A draft resolution for the CEI has been prepared. Unfortunately, Milan Knazko has left a very negative mark on the draft. It happened without me—the head of state—knowing.

[Lintner] Was the document being prepared while he was still in office?

[Meciar] Yes, in March 1993, when he was still in office. It was then envisaged that a legally binding document on the issues of minority policy should be drafted for a conference in Hungary. I ask you: What is a general and legally binding document supposed to mean? We are, after all, a sovereign state and no one can dictate to us. We cannot empower anyone to draft a document for us which should then be adopted in Hungary at (?the Hungarian) initiative. It is quite clear where this would lead.

What is more, the CEI's objective is not to draft regionally binding legal rules. If Europe is to integrate, it has to have a unified system of writing rules rather than one differing from region to region. It follows, therefore, that efforts to evoke a certain atmosphere at the talks and a negative stance toward Slovakia are something we will have to be prepared for. Anyway, I do not think that my position at international talks has ever been easy. It's all part of the job.

[Lintner] Prime Minister, are we going to be strong enough to continue averting Hungarian attacks? For example, Mr. Janosz Martonyi, state secretary in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, said that as far as the Gabcikovo water goes, cooperation with Slovakia is impossible.

[Meciar] This is a misleading statement. We could easily make one like that, too. However, it is fundamentally untrue. I have personally suggested to the Hungarian president—and also to Premier Antall through diplomatic channels—that we are prepared, at our own expense, to adopt such a water regime in the old Danube river bed that would give Hungarians water even where they never had it in the first place. This initiative of mine has not been accepted.

Furthermore, it must be said that we are right. Despite this, our diplomatic policy has been on the defensive. Because it has been put in this defensive position by the former leadership of the Foreign Ministry, it will



dependon the new minister—I analyzed the situation with him this morning—to get us out of this defensive position. It is unacceptable for untruths to be spread around Europe, with us being secure in the knowledge that it is indeed untrue, but not coming forward to tell our truth to the world. In foreign policy, he who sits and waits for things to happen could wait forever.

I ascribe importance not just to what individual steps in foreign policy are about, but to the trend they follow. The trend here is not toward alleviation of tension. I am very sorry about this because I used to think our relations with Hungary would be very good.

[Lintner] Prime Minister, as regards relations with Hungary, is there not a chance that politicians representing the Hungarian minority in Slovakia could be a Trojan horse of Slovak statehood?

[Meciar] We must take into account the fact that Slovakia is in effect finishing the forming of its political make up. This process is heading toward creating Slovakia's own political spectrum and also toward forming minorities' and other interests. Elevating minority interests above the principle of preserving territorial unity and the unity of the population's coexistence amounts to an attempt at breaching the integrity of the state. That's why the advocates of these trends—no matter whether they are aware of it or not—must understand that there is a limit to where coexistence ends and separation begins.

Furthermore, it must be unequivocally said that tension is not whipped up only by the circles formed from Hungarian political parties. Many of those advocating Czechoslovakism are generating tension, too. There are certain groups which are building their policies on the basis of Czechoslovakist interests. Their conduct is quite arrogant. They are making use of the high level of democracy in our country and they are pursuing different politics even in this respect. A logical outcome of this situation abroad is the tension in Budapest, and even tension in government circles. Certain, not very positive trends and signals are coming from Prague, too.

In this situation, the issue of the media—or on whose side the media is—is also an important factor. Does the media side with the protection of the integrity, security and unity of the Slovak Republic's territory as a state? Or does its loyalty lie elsewhere? For example, the steps taken by Slovak Television on the eve of our admission to the Council of Europe did not represent an act of democracy, but an act of political malice.

I am not going to instruct anyone how to write. These views will continue to exist and will be publicly proclaimed. But if, for example, I should monitor on a daily basis Hungarian press or the Hungarian-language press published in the Slovak Republic, there would not be a day when an article would not be published whose objective would be to heighten tension, to evoke the feeling of being exposed to danger and confrontation.

And this—God forbid—is not the aim of this government. It is the aim of those who are creating this kind of psychosis. That is why we should apply far more (?panache) in dealing with them. [end recording]

### Klaus Questions CEI's 'Legitimacy'

*LD1607170193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] After having questioned the legitimacy of the Visegrad cooperation, the Czech prime minister has now done the same for the Central European Initiative [CEI]. Vaclav Klaus, speaking before the CEI summit in Budapest, said that this Central European organization would be needed only if its members were to view world affairs differently from neighboring countries. Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky starts his exclusive statement to "Midday Chronicle" by referring to this. He spoke before the CEI meeting began.

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] I would find it strange for the Czechs to question the rationale behind this cooperation because we should remember that during communism, it was the Hungarians, the Poles, and the Czechs who stressed most that the whole world was referring only to Eastern Europe, and it was only we who said that there was indeed a Central Europe. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The EC emphasizes almost daily that they are willing to accept as full members the Central European democratic countries, but it still it says we should trade with each other too and we should also demonstrate to each other that we are capable of a European integration.

### Antall Addresses Summit

*LD1707120793 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The politicians of the Central European Initiative [CEI] political organization have been conferring for the second day in Budapest. [passage omitted] Correspondent Gyorgy Onody sums up:

[Onody] The CEI meeting opened in the Kempinszky Hotel conference hall this morning. [Hungarian Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall opened the meeting in the presence of the representatives of the member-states. After the words of welcome, he said:

[Begin Antall recording] We can say that the CEI countries represent an area of nearly 1 million square km, and at the same time this is a region of 150 million people. [end recording]

[Onody] Antall drew the conclusion from all this that the size of the area and the population make cooperation important, which however does have certain problems, he said. Among these he alluded first and foremost to the fact that at the time of the organization's formation, the historical circumstances were different from what they are now, the member-states were of a different kind, and

finally, he said with great emphasis that the Hexagonale and later the CEI was not even able to promote the conclusion of this bloody struggle. He concluded with the following words:

[Begin Antall recording] The question can be asked: What is the worth of an organization that has not been able to contribute to, has not been able to resolve, this issue within its own member-states? However, let it serve as a consolation to us that much stronger, older, and better developed organizations than ours, with a greater sphere of competence and influence—including the United Nations, NATO, or the European security organizations, have likewise not been able to achieve a result in this region on this grave issue of the Yugoslav problem.

Thus, when we now assemble, we have to say what kind of reply we can give to this new challenge in which we live, and what objectives the CEI can set itself, what further plans we should make for its deepening or expansion. So, what we can say is that indeed we have come before a crossroads as to what we should do in the future in the framework of the organization. [end recording]

[Onody] After the chairman's opening speech, the delegation leaders will be speaking in alphabetical order. A briefing will be given at a news conference this afternoon.

#### Antall Stresses Minorities Issue

LD1707213393 Budapest MTI in English 1852 GMT  
17 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (MTI)—The Central European Initiative (CEI) is a necessary organization, fitting into the general European processes, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall told a press conference after the CEI summit in Budapest today. The prime minister stressed the need for specifying exact tasks for the organization and the conditions of cooperation. "The CEI is not an alternative to European integration but an instrument to promote integration. For this reason, we see the CEI as a political forum or political club which identifies the problems of the region and helps represent common interests," Antall said.

At the press conference attended by the premiers of the CEI member states, Antall welcomed that the CEI was on the right track to strengthen ties between parliaments, governments and societies. Economic cooperation, however, is not yet efficient and trade between the member states dropped in the recent period, he said. Although the CEI is not a closed organization, he said, it is unwilling to admit new members because this would make it more difficult for its objectives to be reached, Antall said.

Summing up the conference, Antall said that settling the issue of national minorities was raised as an urgent task. The participants stressed the need of preventive policies so as to avoid the outbreak of crises similar to the

Yugoslav one. "The CEI is worth as much as its members want to achieve," Antall said. The Hungarian prime minister termed the view that the organization has not any *raison d'être* as unjustified. He added, however, that the CEI should be transformed and given new tasks.

Asked about the prospects of economic cooperation between the CEI states, Italian Prime Minister Carlo Ciampi referred to worldwide recession, making it impossible for the region to wait for miracles. In his view, the Central European countries should develop free trade. Ciampi and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky agreed that the infrastructural projects (railway and road construction, energy) discussed at the conference may bring about an upswing because they facilitate the free flow of services and people, and create new jobs. Asked whether all this is conceivable without German money, Vranitzky and Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus confirmed that no one wished to exclude German participation. Antall added that Germany was supporting the CEI.

In the press conference it became again clear that Budapest and Bratislava held different views on the issue of national minorities. Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said the issue was not exclusively a Hungarian-Slovak affair. After all, the real problem lies in the countries' economic situation rather than the minorities, he said. "Slovakia and Hungary evaluate the issue of minorities differently. If the Hungarians in Slovakia were given only as many rights as the Slovaks in Hungary have, they would protest vigorously," he said, adding that neither country should exercise control over the other.

In his reply, Antall referred to Hungary's new law on the rights of minorities, and said that Hungary was prepared to compare its policy towards the minorities with any other country. It is out of question that a country would exercise control over the other because, in line with the principle approved in Copenhagen, minority rights cannot be regarded as merely domestic affairs, he said.

Assessing Hungarian-Slovak relations, Antall also brought up the debate over the Gabčíkovo power plant. He added, however, that Budapest had never wanted to isolate Bratislava. "Hungary advocates cooperation and is prepared to develop relations," he said.

The Italian, Croatian and Austrian premiers were asked about the crisis in former Yugoslavia. Italian Prime Minister Carlo Ciampi confirmed that his country was not going a separate way, instead, it identified itself with the principles of the European declarations aimed at settling the crisis. Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic denied that his country endeavoured to divide up Bosnia-Herzegovina. As he put it, Zagreb has an interest in an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina based on the equal rights of the three nations living there. Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky shared this view.

In reply to a question, Antall said that the issue of Vojvodina was also raised in the summit. At the press

conference, he stressed that Hungary's position was determined by the 400,000-strong ethnic Hungarian minority. Keeping their interests in view, Budapest strives to maintain correct and normal ties with all its neighbours, including Serbia.

During the summit, Klaus and Meciar discussed some open questions between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. At the press conference, they said they agreed that the two countries' citizens would only need an identity card to cross the Czech-Slovak border, while citizens of third countries would have to present their passports. They also agreed on simplifying passport control.

At the end of the press conference, Italian President Ciampi announced that his country would take over CEI presidency on January 1, 1994.

#### Klaus, Meciar View CEI

*LD1707194193 Prague CTK in English 1742 GMT  
17 Jul 93*

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (CTK) - The Czech Republic believes that the Central European Initiative (CEI) should not be a rigidly structured institution, but rather a forum for meeting and consultation, said Premier Vaclav Klaus in his speech at the general session of the conference of CEI member country premiers in Budapest today.

Klaus continued that it should be possible there to express and defend the actual interests of countries in the region, and initiate useful programmes based on them. The Czech Republic would support this approach and work hard to make it a reality, he added.

The premier said that the Central European states should define their differences, stressing short- and medium-term priorities in a more general, pan-European perspective. He added that the states should act in a way that would encourage stability, resisting destabilising influences from neighbouring countries and coordinate their stands in European and international organisations.

If it finds a clear vision of its future, the CEI will have a reason for being, emphasised Klaus.

Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar concentrated his address on the topic of ethnic minorities, saying that it was a domestic matter of each country, that others should not interfere in. He added that the CEI was not a forum that should concern itself with such matters, but rather focus on economic cooperation—the initial reason for the CEI's formation. This was Slovakia's chief interest, said Meciar.

The CEI comprises Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

#### Suchocka Supports Bosnian Statehood

*LD1707195893 Warsaw PAP in English 1917 GMT  
17 Jul 93*

[Text] Budapest, July 17—Speaking at the conference of the Central European Initiative (formerly Pentagonale and Hexagonale) in Budapest on Saturday [17 July] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said that Poland supported the conception of territorial integrity, as well as the statehood for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

She also said that before any solution is introduced, it would require the acceptance of three communities: Muslims, Serbs and Croats. She also stressed that negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina must not exceed the status of an international conference on the Yugoslav question. "Poland will not approve the results of any talks held by individual states as well as their intentions which lead to the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina," she declared.

She went on to say that the rights of people of all nationalities must be respected in those countries. Poland's disapproval of behind-the-scenes plans to dismember Bosnia-Herzegovina has also been confirmed by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Asked whether the Central European summit in Budapest had met her expectations, Suchocka replied that it produced a vision of the territory of the former Yugoslavia which is another step towards the solution of the crisis there. She also mentioned that one of the initiative's objectives should also be the extension of the support to democratic institutions in countries which are marching along the "difficult road to democratic change."

Ms Suchocka said that one of the initiative's successes was the establishment of a system of political consultations which now needs to be continued and expanded by adding a consultation on, for example, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Council of Europe, and relations with the EC.

The summit adopted a declaration confirming the role of regional cooperation and its special significance in supporting young democracies which are ploughing through their internal reforms towards economic growth and greater share in the European integration.

#### Meciar, Antall Discuss Gabčíkovo, Minority Issues

*LD1607204793 Budapest MTI in English 1938 GMT  
16 Jul 93*

[Text] Budapest, July 16 (MTI)— Slovakia has an interest in maintaining the Central European Initiative and the Visegrad Group cooperation, said Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar at talks with Hungarian counterpart Jozsef Antall on Friday [16 July].

Meciar arrived in Budapest to attend a CEI summit.



He said the Gabčíkovo hydropower plant on the Danube considerably improved the ecological situation in northern Hungary. He stressed that if Hungary disagrees, Slovakia is ready to send further experts to study water supply issues jointly with Hungary.

The sides again discussed Slovakia's recent admission into the Council of Europe and, in connection with it, minority issues.

Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman Janos Herman reported the sides successfully clarified Hungary's position on Slovakia's Council of Europe membership.

Slovakia's stand on the use of Hungarian names in settlements where ethnic Hungarians comprise a majority has remained unchanged, i.e. there is no chance at the moment for these settlements to use their historical Hungarian names.

Simultaneously with prime ministerial consultations, CEI parliamentary delegations and foreign ministers also held talks on Friday.

#### **Meciar Allegedly Misinterprets Talks**

*LD1807122393 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1030 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] According to Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar allegedly misinterpreted the former's talks with Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik when, on return from Budapest to Bratislava, Meciar stated that the Hungarian side had considered it possible to conclude a Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty [Madarsko-Slovenska zakladna zmluva], containing a section on the inviolability of the state border.

The statement made by Jeszenszky to the Hungarian MTI agency says that an accord on many matters did exist between the two countries but there were certain issues, for example Gabčíkovo, the status of minorities, and schools for minorities, which need be solved to make signing of the treaty possible.

As far as confirmation of the inviolability of the state border is concerned, Jeszenszky pointed out that Hungary has never doubted the validity of the peace treaty of 1947. Should the Slovak side insist on its demand, the Hungarian foreign minister said, the two sides will have

to search for a wording that would allow for confirmation of the validity of the border defined by that peace treaty. No matter what treaty is at question, however, Slovakia must start implementing steps that are the necessary condition for its signing, stressed Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

#### **Slovak, Hungarian Parliament Groups Agree on Cooperation**

*LD1807161693 Prague CTK in English 1530 GMT  
18 Jul 93*

[Text] Budapest, July 18 (CTK) - At their weekend meeting here, the chairmen of the Slovak and Hungarian parliamentary foreign committees Ivan Laluha and Laszlo Kovacs, agreed on their committees' regular consultations and closer cooperation.

Kovacs said that some current problems concerning ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia, mainly the newly adopted but yet to come into effect law on the use of foreign Christian names in their original versions, were discussed at the meeting.

In connection with Slovakia's planned new administrative setup, Kovacs said it would be appropriate, and welcomed by Budapest, if Slovak authorities were to consult organisations and representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority on this matter and cooperate with them.

#### **Kocarnik, Toth Sign State-Assets Transfer Agreement**

*LD1507213593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 15 Jul 93*

[Text] Following today's Bratislava meeting of the inter-republican commission on the division of the former CSFR property, the Czech and Slovak finance ministers, Ivan Kocarnik and Julius Toth, signed an agreement on the transfer of state assets and liabilities, and an agreement on the transfer of state guarantees.

They told journalists they would also sign an agreement on the takeover of undertakings ensuing from the construction of the iron ore mining and dressing combine in Krivoy Rog [in Ukraine], and an agreement on the division of an integration gas venture [not further specified] on the territory of the former Soviet Union.



**Political Parties Protest Mitsotakis Statement***AU1707193593 Tirana ATA in English 0808 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] Tirana, July 17 (ATA)—Some Albanian parties and organizations, such as the Republican Party, the Democratic Movement of Albanians' Union, the Association of Political and Economic Persecutors, Former Kulaks, and the Agrarian Party issued statements protesting against the speech of the Greek Premier Mitsotakis before reporters in Athens. These parties and associations stress that the statement by the Greek premier is an interference in the home affairs of Albania and made in the course of a policy for the destabilization of the Balkans.

**Meksi: Mitsotakis Demands 'Incompatible'***AU1707175093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] In an interview given to the BBC concerning the statement by Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis and his six demands, Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi said that these demands are incompatible. We consider them as anti-Albanian and in opposition to the spirit maintained so far in Albanian-Greek relations, which have been relations of a good neighborliness and have aimed always to proceed forward in the sense of their positive sides. However, the demands we see are incompatible with every international document. The fact is that the demands come after the violent expulsion of the Albanian economic emigrants.

Concerning the return of the Greek Archimandrite back to Gjirokaster, Mr. Meksi said that he was expelled from Albania on the basis of the data on his activity and as such, there is no reason he should come back to Albania. On the other hand, the Albanian Government has declared that we have no objection to Greek priests coming as visitors for a certain period to help the Albanian church, but not to stay in Albania and have positions in the Albanian Church, things which are defined on the basis of a statute.

Concerning the demand of returning the properties of the Orthodox Church, Meksi said that the Albanian Government has openly stated this several times and this demand is made for the sake of a quarrel, as they say. It is known from all that we have compiled a law, the law on properties in Albania. In conformity with this law, all religious groups that exist in Albania will get back their properties later through compensation.

Meksi further said that we have always been for dialogue and for finding a solution to the misunderstandings between the two countries. Their presentation to the International Court, according to the wish of the Greek side, would be something. For me personally, it would be very pleasant because other subjects would be examined, such as the very oldest issue, the return of the expelled Cams [Albanian minority expelled from Greece] and their properties. Mr. Meksi said that we have declared

that the use of the North Epirus card [used by Albanians for acceptance into Greece] by our emigrants in Greece is unacceptable for Albanians. They may act as they want, but through this they cannot exert pressure over Albanians.

Regarding the pretension that Greece relates the fulfillment of the Greek minority demand with what Albania asks for Albanians of Kosova, Mr. Meksi said that this is a means of provocation against Albania, because it is completely understandable to compare half of the Albanian population with the national minority that lives in the south of Albania. This is understandable if we consider the present political framework in the Greek-Serbian relations, and this, of course, [word indistinct] has helped it. Such a thing cannot be called otherwise but an open provocation against Albania.

**Serreqi Calls Demands 'Unacceptable'***NC1607211993 Paris AFP in English 2059 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Excerpt] Tirana, July 16 (AFP)—Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi rejected on Friday [16 July] as "unacceptable" calls by Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis that minority rights of ethnic Greeks in southern Albania must be guaranteed.

Mitsotakis had sharply raised the tone in the war of words with Albania Wednesday, threatening to take Tirana to the International Court of Justice over Greek minority rights in the country.

"This statement is unacceptable at a time when relations between the two countries not only have a bilateral quality but also a regional one," Serreqi told AFP.

All rights of the Greek minority were guaranteed by international law, he said, adding that attempts by Mitsotakis to draw a parallel between the Greek minority and ethnic Albanians living in Serbia's Kosovo province were "proof of an alliance between Greece and Serbia".

Mitsotakis had said that Tirana should guarantee Greeks living in Albania the same rights that it was claiming for ethnic Albanians in former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

**Serreqi Denounces Belgrade-Athens 'Alliance'***AU1607170393 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] It is a condition that should be neither accepted nor made, that is what Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi told the BBC in response to the Greek prime minister's demand that the Archimandrite expelled from Albania should be allowed to return to Gjirokaster, the first of six conditions he presented yesterday.

At a time when relations between the two countries have not only bilateral but also regional implications, conditioning the establishment of dialogue on this demand was commented on by our foreign minister, who said that the influence of the church on the Greek state is very great. Mr. Serreqi said that it was difficult to establish a dialogue on this basis.

Concerning other demands presented by the Greek prime minister in Athens, Mr. Serreqi said that as far as the problem of the Greek minority in Albania is concerned, there is speculation and a distortion of the realities, and this runs against Albania and the democratic process.

Albania has approved the Human Rights Charter, which sets high European standards. It is unacceptable to use the [Greek] minority in Albania to sow the seeds of discord at a time when the Greek side does not even condescend to discuss the long existence of the Albanian minorities in Greece, Serreqi said.

Concerning the parallel that is being drawn between the Greek minority in Albania and the Albanians in Kosova, who constitute 92 percent of its population, Serreqi declared that this is the most convincing proof of the alliance between Athens and Belgrade. Albania is open to dialogue, based on mutual respect but allowing no concessions at all that would be to the detriment of the national interest, Serreqi declared.

Finally, Mr. Serreqi said that it is up to the Greek side to reconsider once more the position that it holds.

#### **World Bank Officer on Credit Agreements, Assistance**

*AU1707193293 Tirana ATA in English 0823 GMT  
17 Jul 93*

["Interview of Kemal Dervish With the Voice of America about Albania"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 17 (ATA)—In an interview with the Voice of America, Kemal Dervish, chief of the European Department of the World Bank, said that on July 7, the World Bank signed two agreements with Albania. The credit for the sector of transportation will be 18 million dollars, whereas the credit for agriculture 20 million dollars. The credit for transportation is intended to improve motor road network of Albania and make studies for the future of this sector. Currently, there is pressing need to repair the existing motor roads and build new ones. Based on the experience of other countries, it is very important to establish a suitable motor road system which would link the small and big countries as well as all the regions of the country into a single network. The credit in agriculture is intended mainly to support the private farmers and to make the Bank of Agricultural Development of Albania a model institution. Mr. Dervish said that Japan is expected to give another additional credit apart from the World Bank. The agreement has not yet been applied, but Japan is

expected to give 15 million dollars credit for the Albanian agriculture. It takes little time to apply the projects of the World Bank, he said, because these credits, opposed to the previous credits, are not straightforward credits to pay off delayed payment or to fulfill the needs of the state budget. We provide these credits to realize some special projects. Some days ago, another project was submitted to the Steering Council of the World Bank to finance housing sector in Albania to finish incomplete buildings. This agreement has not yet been reached but it is expected to be signed in the future. In this context, the current loans for Albania are intended to provide credit to the other major sectors such as transportation, agriculture, and housing. In the future the World Bank expects to sign another agreement in the sectors of health, education, and social insurances. But these agreements are only the first step. The concrete application of these agreements in Albania will be the most important and difficult tasks.

Regarding the current development of the Albanian economy, he said that success was attained in restoring stability, inflation which was very high to the level. Albanian economy attained the greatest success in eastern Europe as far as inflation is concerned. No other country was that successful in reducing inflation. Another success was also attained in the exchange of currency. The market of currency is free and stabilized. The activity in the small private sector has already started. But the major task is to create new jobs and develop economy at fast rates. This has not yet been done. Success is reached but it is not complete. 1993 will be the year of the consolidation of economic stability and the economic reform. The year 1994 is the year when the first signs of growth will appear in the Albanian economy not only in agriculture but also in industry. But to insure normal development of economy, it is important to preserve the political and social stability, he concluded.

#### **IMF Envoy Praises Reform Effort**

*AU1707164493 Tirana ATA in English 0814 GMT  
17 Jul 93*

["Interview of the IMF Representative in Tirana With the Albanian Television"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 17 (ATA)—The IMF representative in Tirana had an interview with TV on July 16 regarding the agreement signed on Thursday [15 July] between the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Albania for the delivery of 59 million dollars. The approval of the three-year plan for Albania, Mr. Ding said, is an important event for Albania for the message sent to the world community that IMF considers the reform in Albania as profoundly successful and the policies formulated in the economic program of the Albanian Government as correct and made in time. The IMF representative in Tirana pointed out that "the approval of the program of the IMF will guarantee a reliable flow of hundred millions dollars in Albania. Albania and its government deserve

this support. I hope, Mr. Ding said, that Albania will be resolute in its reform and will attain greater successes in the future."

#### **No Funds To Eliminate Store of 'Harmful' Pesticides**

*AU1607154193 Tirana ATA in English 1011 GMT  
16 Jul 93*

[Text] Tirana, July 16 (ATA)—Since last September more than 600 tons of expired pesticides were stored in Albania. It was donated as an emergency aid by a German firm, but soon tests proved that they were harmful to the health of people and environment.

The Environment State Protection Committee are concerned with the elimination of these toxic substances. It takes large amounts of money to do this and no one in Albania is capable to afford this. One of the specialists of this committee declares that in case they are not eliminated, it is the people's health who pay for this.

#### **Strikers Resume Work, Refuse 'Partial Solutions'**

*AU1607201093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in  
Albanian 1330 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Excerpt] Concerning the four basic demands that the representatives of the strike in the electro-energy system presented, the relevant corporation has provided full answers to three of them. Regarding the fourth demand, the government allowed a leeway of up to 30 percent for liberalization of the salaries and promised to revise and better solve it in 1994.

Since the strike's central commission failed to accept this partial solution to the fourth demand and, consequently, interrupt the strike, the Albanian Electro-Energy Corporation decided to pass the case on to Tirana Court.

As a result, work will resume and the continuation of the strike will depend on the Court's ruling. [passage omitted]

#### **Parliament Has Approved 172 Laws Since Election**

*AU1707164393 Tirana ATA in English 1007 GMT  
17 Jul 93*

[Text] Tirana, July 17 (ATA)—The pluralist parliament elected during March 22, 1992 elections has prepared and approved 172 laws for a period of 15 months since its creation. Among them are constitutional laws, such as the chapter "The Human Fundamental Rights and Freedoms," prepared after international standards.

Important in the work of the People's Assembly has been the compilation of the package of economic laws, which open way to transition into free market economy, protection and institutionalization of private property, foreign investments, etc.

In the meantime, the parliament is working on two important laws, such as the Code of Penal Procedure and the Code of Civil Procedure, whose general parts have been completed.

All this voluminous work has contributed to the completion and presentation soon of the Constitution of the Republic of Albania.



### **Ministry Protests to FRY on Expulsion of CSCE Mission**

*AU1607144893 Sofia BTA in English 1342 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Sofia, July 16 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs made a demarche to an official of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in Sofia in connection with the decision of the authorities in Belgrade to terminate the activity of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe missions in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Service informed BTA.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is seriously concerned about those developments. As practice has shown so far, the missions are of great importance for peace and stability in the region. Belgrade's decision is a strong negative signal to the international public, the Yugoslav Embassy official was told.

Linking the renewal of the missions' term to Yugoslavia's full reinstatement as a participant in the CSCE will not contribute to the achievement of this purpose; on the contrary, this enhances the country's international isolation, it was stressed at the meeting.

Joining all other CSCE participating countries, Bulgaria calls upon the authorities in Belgrade to adopt a decision on the renewal of the term of the CSCE missions in Sandjak, Vojvodina and Kosovo.

The Bulgarian side expressed its satisfaction that Serbian opposition leader Vuk Draskovic had been released from prison.

### **Zhelev, EC's O'Sullivan View Delay in Trade Agreement**

*AU1607185993 Sofia BTA in English 1631 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Sofia, June 16 (BTA)—Today Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev received Mr. Thomas O'Sullivan, head of the EC delegation to Sofia. The sides analysed the ways and means of achieving an even more efficient realization of the different EC programmes in Bulgaria, a press release of the Presidency says. There is interest in the specialized programmes helping along the economic reform in a number of regions in this country. At the meeting, attended by Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Stanislav Daskalov, special attention was paid at the meeting to the earliest possible entry into force of the Bulgaria-EC interim agreement on trade.

### **Daskalov Regrets EC Delay**

*AU1607173093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 16 Jul 93*

["Special statement by Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov" in Sofia on 16 July—recorded]

[Text] At present Bulgaria is the only country among those that signed the European agreement for which the interim trade agreement has not come into force. We are

disappointed by the fact that the approval of the interim agreement has been linked with another issue of a procedural nature that has no relation to Bulgaria.

For the Bulgarian public and political forces, the delay in the approval of the interim agreement between Bulgaria and the European Communities provides a signal quite different from our expectations, namely that the declarations the EC made on the need to provide firm support for the transition in Bulgaria, including the ambitious decisions adopted at the meeting of the Council of Europe in Copenhagen, will be supported by actions.

The delay is causing considerable losses for Bulgarian exporters and producers. These are increased by the practice of what is in fact discrimination against Bulgaria as compared with the other countries that signed the European agreement, which are able to gain from the accelerated opening up of EC markets before Bulgaria is able to.

I would like to emphasize that if the interim agreement is not approved at the session of the EC Council of Ministers on Monday 19 July, then the next opportunity will not come until September, which will further delay the effective date of the agreement.

### **IMF's Kincaid 'Worried' by Delays in Legislation**

*AU1607181693 Sofia BTA in English 1710 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Sofia, July 16 (BTA)—"I believe it would be expedient to postpone the signing of a third stand-by arrangement with the IMF until the time Bulgaria is ready and confident that it will be able to fulfill it," Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov said today at a joint news conference with the IMF mission leader for Bulgaria Russell Kincaid. The mission has been in Sofia for two weeks for talks and analysis of the condition of the Bulgarian economy.

According to Mr. Aleksandrov, the Bulgarian Government and Parliament did not try hard enough to meet the conditions agreed in March, when the mission was last here. The bad debts problem is still open, and insufficient efforts are made in the area of privatization, the finance minister said. The key problem, however, is the lack of appropriate legislation. Parliament has not passed the two essential laws: on value-added tax [VAT] and bankruptcy. Mr. Kincaid said he was worried about this matter. He said his meeting with MP's [members of parliament] of the major political forces left him with the impression that the MP's are planning to vote down a flat VAT rate. The IMF official believes this will pose a number of problems to the 1994 budget.

Mr. Kincaid and Mr. Aleksandrov confirmed the identity of their views on the state of the Bulgarian economy



and the government's specific economic policy intentions. The joint economic analysis revealed the following positive developments: The production decline is smaller than projected in the macroeconomic framework and even stands a realistic chance of not exceeding two percent until the end of the year; inflation will probably not go beyond the projected 60 percent at the year's end; and the budget deficit may well be contained within the projected limits. Mechanisms for the elimination of bad debts have been agreed. On the other hand, state levies are collected at an alarmingly low rate, foreign trade has run a deficit, and law-making is desperately behind schedule.

The Bulgarian Government and the IMF mission (agree) that the Bulgarian delegation submit a 1994 draft budget at the IMF/World Bank annual meeting in September and report the progress on meeting the conditions. An IMF mission will visit Bulgaria, probably in October, and the third stand-by arrangement, most probably a 12-month one, may be signed then.

Prof. Todor Vulchev, governor of the Bulgarian National Bank, who attended the news conference, expressed the hope that after the adoption of the banking supervision ordinance and the practical completion of bank consolidation, the World Bank may release the 100-million-dollar second tranche of the structural adjustment loan, which has been delayed for over a year.

The second one-year stand-by agreement between Bulgaria and the IMF expired in March 1993. Bulgaria did not get the last tranche of that arrangement because the country's economic condition did not meet the agreement parameters.

#### **Foreign Consultants Reportedly Pocket EC Aid Funds**

*AU1607190493 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 14 Jul 93 p 3*

[Report by Boyan Dimov]

[Text] Only three percent of the 90 million European Currency Units provided under the EC's PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] Program have remained in Bulgaria, it was announced during a meeting of the Industrial Development Council. Western consultants received 97 percent of the funds as fees for assisting the reform in Bulgaria.

By the end of this year, Industry Minister Rumen Bikov intends to begin the procedures for privatizing 90 enterprises. The process is expected to cost 70 million leva, while the likely proceeds are about 600 million leva. The poor financial situation of industrial enterprises is the main factor hampering denationalization. Only 20 percent of companies with long-term assets of less than 10 million leva finished 1992 in the black.

The Industrial Development Council, which includes representatives from the Ministry of Industry, the

National Assembly, banks, associations, and unions will apply to the government for powers to assess the possibilities for privatization, foreign investments, and financial provisions for structural reform. The Greek company Aegean Petroleum is reported to intend to establish a joint company with Martsianopol of Devnya to renovate old storage tanks and used oils, but Varna Municipal Council has not issued a document regarding the state property of the future enterprises, so that the investment has been blocked.

#### **Daskalov Views Macedonia's Refusal To Register New IMRO**

*AU1607203693 Sofia BTA in English 1752 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Sofia, July 16 (BTA)—On the day of parliamentary control, Bulgaria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Stanislav Daskalov replied to the question of an MP who wanted to know if the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs would take action after the refusal of the authorities in Macedonia to register the new Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), their motivation being that the organization's documents were written in standard Bulgarian.

A constituent meeting was held in Ohrid on June 5, 1993 establishing the new IMRO based on the principles adopted at the IMRO Congress in Thessaloniki in 1893. (The IMRO was set up after Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman domination to preserve the national identity of the Bulgarians left outside the borders of Bulgaria, to protect and liberate them.)

It lies within the competence of Macedonia to resolve the registration problem of the new IMRO, Minister Daskalov said. As far as the Bulgarian foreign minister knows, the new IMRO was refused registration because its documents were not written in Macedonia's official language. Bulgaria's policy of support and its desire for the promotion of all-round cooperation with Macedonia are combined with its expectations that the Republic of Macedonia will prove its adherence to the internationally recognized human rights standards, Minister Daskalov said. Bulgaria has posed and is going to pose even more actively the question of everybody's right to express their national self-awareness, Mr. Daskalov went on to say, reminding that bilateral meetings were held with Macedonia at which the Bulgarian side expressed its concern over the violation of human rights.

#### **SDS's Dimitrov Views Conflict With Zhelev**

*AU1807170893 Sofia STANDART NEWS Supplement in Bulgarian 13 Jul 93 p 6*

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, by Svetlozar Bakhchevanov at SDS headquarters; date and place not given: "In Politics the Best Things Can Be Done Quietly and With Style"]

[Text] [Bakhchevanov] Our interview began with a report on a bomb planted at the headquarters of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] in 134 Rakovski Street, yet is not the real bomb planted in our society?

[Dimitrov] Before you ask your question, I will ask you one: Have you read the article on the foreign debt in OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK? This problem may conceal the embryos of answers to many questions. After the government announced that it was suspending interest payments, the market price of the foreign debt plunged to 12 cents per dollar, I believe, and people are steadily buying it up. It is hardly necessary to answer the obvious question of who these buyers are! They are Bulgarians and Bulgarian companies who have money to "launder."

[Bakhchevanov] You do realize that such facts cannot be proven except under special political circumstances....

[Dimitrov] I am talking about the importance of the problem of Bulgaria's foreign debt. Do you know, when the negotiations with the London Club were on the point of reaching a deal last year, and Nadezhda Mikhaylova made a public announcement on television about the report that we had received, within an hour the interview with President Zhelev in the grounds of the Boyana Residence was transmitted. In the light of this and other new information, certain things become even clearer!

[Bakhchevanov] Are we again reduced to drawing comparisons between your government and the present one?

[Dimitrov] One can debate forever whether the government's action on the foreign debt was merely foolish, whether it was dishonest, or what, but the very fact of what it did is sufficient reason for the government to go. As far as my government is concerned, it has been attacked from all sides for everything, but it did not commit any blunders in the generally accepted sense. Well, there may have been something or other, but it was not important enough for us to discuss it here. One is talking about causing real havoc. The foreign debt is in no way a harmless matter.

[Bakhchevanov] You said on one occasion: "Politics is not merely waiting for the right moment." Are you able "to wait for the moment" before proposing a no-confidence motion in the government?

[Dimitrov] We did wait but, you know, everything stemmed from the storm that blew up in the SDS parliamentary group. We had our problems even before that, but the situation became intolerable. Our progress had come to a dead stop. We had no right to delay, because putting things off meant a change or even complete loss of quality. Accordingly, we made one last attempt to master the situation. None of us was so reckless as not to consider the risk that we were taking. However, in his interview the president reiterated how unstable the situation was and how weak the government was. We had to possess some force, some point of support to prove the opposite. In fact, I am inclined to admit that we did commit a serious mistake: By wasting

time, we missed the "psychological moment" to prevent the initial establishment of contacts between the Communist Party [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement]. We lost our initial momentum.

[Bakhchevanov] This notorious conflict with President Zhelev keeps going on. Mr. Dimitrov, as far as I recall, you have never spoken out sharply against him, have you?

[Dimitrov] Well, others in the SDS parliamentary group have "shouted out" against the president....

[Bakhchevanov] Yet surely, conflicts with the presidential institution are embodied in the Constitution itself, are they not?

[Dimitrov] The Constitution is bad, and in the past I have voiced precisely such objections against it, saying that it does not define the precise parameters of the different powers. Child heroes like Georgi Markov screamed a great deal about how ugly and stunted the president is, whereas Stoyan Ganev, for example, is tall and handsome... I am joking of course, but this was the reality. Personally, I have always supported the thesis that one must show greater tolerance if you want more politeness in relations. I thought that then the president would at least find it more difficult to take certain steps. However, meanwhile certain people "facilitated" the adoption of the decision to start the war against the SDS.

[Bakhchevanov] Let us change the subject slightly. Were there not conflicts between the parties in the SDS coalition? How did you work with their representatives in the government?

[Dimitrov] The ten days before we formed the government were a nightmare for me. At times I wished something would happen to prevent us from forming the government. Pressures were exerted from all sides, most of all from Podkrepa and its leader Dr. Trenchev, from Asen Michkovski, Stoyan Ganev, Georgi Markov, Nikolay Vasilev, and so on....

Afterwards, Ivan Pushkarov was replaced by Rumen Bikov. This change was voted for by the parliamentary group, although it had no right to do this. We still did not realize that compromises were leading us ever backwards. However, after it had been done, instead of quarreling with him about what he can and cannot do, I found it better to limit to the minimum the damage caused by his presence. You realize, I simply could not say no either then, or when we formed the cabinet in the beginning, because the mandate to form the cabinet came from the SDS! Unfortunately, this mandate was also implemented by things like the crazy nomination of Stoyan Ganev for foreign minister.

[Bakhchevanov] Did Ivan Kostov and Yordan Sokolov really write a letter demanding your resignation?

[Dimitrov] The persons that you mentioned, as well as others that you did not mention, but who are also

"involved," can hardly have motives for acting against me, not to mention the fact that both of them are my friends.

[Bakhchevanov] You are constantly being accused of not acting firmly enough.

[Dimitrov] The best things can be done quietly and with style, not by screaming and thumping on the table. As to whether I am too "soft," the present government is constantly dismissing people who were appointed to their posts by someone. This someone was me and the SDS government, accordingly the stories about our "softness" are a myth. The firmness lies in the decisions that you make. True, we were not very effective, but I hope that we will be more effective when we come to power in the future. The idea that my education and tolerance are hindrances for me is absurd, because manners are one thing, but political decisions are quite another. In what respects were we not firm? Do you mean in our foreign policy, despite the "marvels" achieved by Stoyan Ganev? Or was our policy not firm against the mafia? Or do you mean our policy in the debt negotiations with the London Club? No, the problem was fictitious, and the contrast of "firm to soft" was also invented. It was wrong for us merely to be on the point of replacing the [media] directors!

[Bakhchevanov] How do you accept the idea of a political center?

[Dimitrov] In our conditions the idea is only for theoretical debate, to put it mildly. No center position can exist on whether you should restore the land to its owners or not, or on whether you should restore property or not. There is no middle position on whether we should strive to join Europe, or move toward the Slavonic and Orthodox "axis." It may be possible even to have a Black Sea zone, because this is an economic issue, and the other alternative means isolation and opposition to certain principles. Accordingly, the center is something like quicksand. He who ends up there will sink.

[Bakhchevanov] Europe, however, interprets our problems in relation to its own traditions and culture, and you mentioned that Europe is not disposed to solve them, did you not?

[Dimitrov] The West deals with realities. When we offer it an understandable and "good-looking" reality, then it will "applaud" us. We can and should rely on the West when we have proved to it that this "reality" is better than the other one with which it is familiar, and not before!

[Bakhchevanov] Nevertheless, do you really believe, with the present disposition of forces in parliament, that the SDS can really make parliament dissolve itself and call early parliamentary elections?

[Dimitrov] Of course, and what is more, we must make this possibility happen. I regard it as monstrous that this parliament operates in this manner, making decisions

without a quorum. It is impossible to imagine any greater deception than this! The continuing existence of this parliament is politically damaging—for the state, not for me....

### Greek Nuclear Delegation Discusses Cooperation

AU1607181793 Sofia BTA in English 1654 GMT 16 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 16 (BTA)—A delegation of the Greek Atomic Energy Commission, led by its president Prof. Kharalambos Proukakis, visited Bulgaria, the delegation arrived on July 13, Mr. Yanko Yankov, chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, told BTA.

The visit was paid in accordance with the agreement on early notification of nuclear accidents and exchange of information about nuclear facilities signed by the Bulgarian Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy and the Greek Atomic Energy Commission in Athens on February 15, 1991.

At the meetings which the Greek delegation had, satisfaction was expressed with the efficient exchange of information about nuclear facilities and with the development of bilateral cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The Greek delegation was received by Bulgarian Minister of the Environment Valentin Bosevski.

The delegation visited the Nuclear Power Plant at Kozloduy and was acquainted with the improvement of its safety.

### Press Claims Defense Industry Lost Arms Sales

AU1707194093 Sofia BTA in English 1704 GMT 17 Jul 93

[From BTA press review]

[Text] Sofia, July 17 (BTA)—The dailies report parliament's closed sitting yesterday when the MP's [members of parliament] heard a report by a parliamentary committee of inquiry into the condition of the Bulgarian military industrial complex. The committee is chaired by Ivan Pushkarov MP, former industry and trade minister in the cabinet of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

The state lost out some 80 million U.S. dollars in arms sales between 1990 and early 1993, according to the report, the private daily KONTINENT cites a knowledgeable source as saying. Bulgarian arms dealers reportedly concluded bogus transactions, undercutting each other. The report does not make clear how much Bulgaria lost on foiled deals, the paper says. These losses exceed the above-stated at least five-fold, the source reportedly said. Output has been cut by 60 percent, as 80 percent of traditional markets have been lost, the committee of inquiry reportedly said. 35 percent of arms makers are idle, KONTINENT reports.



Bulgarian arms makers sustained serious losses last year as a result of the activities of the Governmental Commission on the Regulation and Control of the Regime of Production and Trade in Military and Special-Purpose Goods, known by the name of its then secretary Georgi Bozduganov, says DUMA, the daily of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). The Bozduganov commission reportedly foiled advantageous deals by failing to handle licence requests on time. The Pushkarov report suggests that prosecutors complete the investigation of the commission's work, according to DUMA. The dismissals of experts and the closure of research units are cited as another reason for the dire straits of the Bulgarian military-industrial complex. According to the committee of inquiry, over 25,000 persons have been fired, KONTINENT writes.

The committee of inquiry moved a three to five-year moratorium over the privatization of the military-industrial complex, and parliament will vote on this idea next Wednesday. The MP's yesterday argued over whether the moratorium should cover manufacturers only or also dealers in military and special-purpose goods, DUMA says. The SDS MP's described as absurd one of the committee's proposals, to set up a consultative board reporting to the president to supervise the arms-making business, DEMOKRATSIYA, the SDS daily, reports.

#### **Investigator, Diplomats Discuss Markov Case 'Leaks'**

AU1607202593 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 16 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 16 (BTA)—Director of the National Investigative Service Ani Kruleva this morning conferred with the Danish ambassador in Sofia, Mr. Klaus Otto Kappel, and a British Embassy official.

According to preliminary information, the meeting was prompted by Mrs. Kruleva's allegations, quoted in the Bulgarian press, that a leak of information from the British and the Danish secret services obstructed the Bulgarian investigation into the 1978 assassination of Bulgarian emigre writer Georgi Markov. Mr. Kappel and the British diplomat declined to comment on the meeting to the press. They announced that later today the two embassies will probably issue press releases. The only thing which the Danish ambassador said was that his country's authorities were ready to cooperate with Bulgaria for clearing the case. The meeting was requested by the two embassies, the British representative said.

In identically worded press releases, circulated this afternoon, the British Embassy and the Royal Danish Embassy specified that the subject of the meeting had been "recent press coverage on the Georgi Markov case." "The British, the Danish and the Bulgarian sides agreed to continue their cooperation on this case. All sides expressed the hope that a satisfactory conclusion would soon be reached. They also expressed regret at the leaks of information on the case into the Danish, British and Bulgarian press, which is hampering the future investigation. It was finally agreed

that as investigations were continuing, further comment would not be in the best interests of efforts being made to bring the culprit or culprits to justice," the British and Danish press releases said.

Mrs. Kruleva this afternoon gave a special news conference to familiarize reporters with what she described as a joint press release, agreed at the end of her meeting this morning with Danish Ambassador Otto Kappel and British Charge d'Affaires Mr. Buchanan.

Emphasizing that all three sides expressed regret at the leaks of information on the Georgi Markov case to the press, Mrs. Kruleva said that "this, however, does not mean that the publications are confirmed." At today's meeting, the sides did not discuss the Georgi Markov murder case but only the press publications on it, Mrs. Kruleva said. She and investigating magistrate Bogdan Karayotov, who is investigating the murder and who also attended the news conference, declined to comment on the investigation.

In a statement for the private weekly 168 CHASA, which appeared on July 12, National Investigative Service Director Ani Kruleva said that the secret services of Britain and Denmark had disclosed that Danish citizen Francesco Giulino was suspected of the murder of Bulgarian emigre writer Georgi Markov. The information which surfaced in the media scared away the Dane and frustrated Bulgarian investigative operations. According to Mrs. Kruleva, certain forces which she did not identify stood to gain from the leak of information.

Bulgarian emigre writer Georgi Markov died in mysterious circumstances in London on September 11, 1978. The 168 CHASA weekly said Bulgarian investigators had found a number of coincidences, giving them grounds to believe that Francesco Giulino was the writer's probable killer. In 1972 Giulino was arrested in Bulgaria on charges of narcotics trafficking and while in custody he was recruited by the Active Operations Division of Main Department One (the external intelligence service) of the now disbanded State Security. The pledge of cooperation with the Bulgarian secret services that Giulino wrote is still available in the archives.

After leaving Bulgaria, Giulino settled in Denmark. All his other assignments were revoked in 1976 and he was ordered to focus on the operation for the elimination of Georgi Markov, directed personally by the then deputy interior minister, General Stoyan Savov. He signed some directives for Giulino which have been preserved. At first, the directives mentioned Markov's "neutralization" and later on "rendering him harmless."

Giulino was getting money on a regular basis from Main Department One. The money was delivered by an operative who is still alive. The receipts written in Giulino's own hand are preserved.



Giulino travelled to London on numerous occasions and would put up next door to Georgi Markov's home. Several months before Markov's assassination, Giulino received 2,000 pounds sterling from State Security. This was unusual because until then he had been paid in Danish kroner. After the date of the murder, he received further amounts in pounds sterling, U.S. dollars and Danish kroner. He was actually on Main Department One's payroll until 1990. He was not involved in any other important operation. After 1978 Giulino visited Bulgaria several times but continued to live in Copenhagen.

It will be hardly possible to prove that he was the killer because the two files on writer Markov, one at Main Department One and the other at Main Department Six

(the secret political police), have been destroyed, wrote 168 CHASA. The former chief of Main Department One, General Vladimir Todorov, has already served the 10 months in prison to which he was sentenced for the destruction of the files.

168 CHASA says that in November 1992 the Bulgarian investigating authorities supplied copies of records on the Giulino case to their British colleagues of Scotland Yard. Questioned in Copenhagen with the participation of a Bulgarian investigator, Giulino rejects the accusations of Markov's murder. He was released after the six-hour interrogation. On June 25, 1993 Giulino sold all his property in Copenhagen and left Denmark. According to some reports, he is now in Hungary.

**Klaus: 'Breakthrough' Border Agreement With Meciar**

*LD1707211293 Prague CTK in English 2002 GMT  
17 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague, July 17 (CTK)—An agreement on a Czech-Slovak border crossing scheme reached with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar is a breakthrough and a clear step forward, said Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today, after returning from the two-day CEI [Central European Initiative] summit in Budapest.

According to the agreement, reached Friday [16 July] in Budapest, citizens of both republics will continue to be able to travel between the two countries at any crossing point, using only domestic identification documents, while third country nationals will have to cross at specific border points, said Klaus, adding that the formulation would be added to an existing agreement on visa relations with Slovakia.

Klaus said that the agreement means that Slovakia had in fact recognised standard borders. We are interested in settling matters with Slovakia on a consensus basis, so that we do not have to resort to unilateral moves this is why our negotiations yesterday were a fundamental step forward, said Klaus. The requirement that third-country nationals undergo standard border controls at the Czech-Slovak border is what the Czech side was demanding, said Klaus.

Both countries intend to prepare an agreement to simplify border crossing administration, said Klaus.

**Klaus: Unions' Attitude on Pensions 'Unfair'**

*AU1607150093 Prague CTK in English 2052 GMT  
14 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague July 14 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, speaking to journalists after a government meeting today, described as unfair the attitude taken by unions towards the government in a dispute over old age pension premiums.

He reacted to criticism voiced by Cyril Zapletal, chairman of the Mining, Geological Works and Oil Industry Trade Union, who called Klaus's rebuttal today of a bill on non-profit funds for old age pension premiums a swindle, as well as to an earlier criticism by Vladimir Petrus, chairman of the Bohemian-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions, who blamed the government for delaying the legislation.

Yesterday's meeting of economic ministers agreed that the question of premiums should remain in the realm of an individual's rights, Klaus noted, adding that the government does not recommend employer-based systems, but prefers the civic principle instead.

Our dispute with the unions hinges on a technicality. We are saying "from a firm's profit," and they "a tax relief," he explained, remarking that the government is being

unfairly accused of escalating the dispute through its insistence that insurees must be eligible for tax relief instead of the employers.

**Decision on Additional Privatization Coupons Adopted**

*AU1607153793 Prague CTK in English 1811 GMT  
14 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague July 14 (CTK)—Coupons for privatisation's second wave are to be sold at 1,000 crowns (34 USD) apiece, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists today.

The decision, adopted today, is contained in a draft government directive on the emission and use of the investment coupons.

Coupons will be distributed in a way similar to that used in the first wave, Klaus announced.

**Jezek Outlines Alternatives**

*AU1607153893 Prague CTK in English 1912 GMT  
14 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague July 14 (CTK)—The chairman of the National Property Fund, Tomas Jezek, has pessimistic, optimistic, and super-optimistic alternatives for the beginning of the second wave of coupon privatisation, he told the CT-2 state television station today.

The second wave might start as late as April 15, 1994 according to the pessimistic alternative, in the second half of January 1994 according to the optimistic alternative, and even this December according to the super-optimistic alternative. It all depends, Jezek said, on the Trade Court's attitude to the matter.

**Coalition Split on Church Restitution Stance**

*AU1607154293 Prague CTK in English 1532 GMT  
14 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague July 14 (CTK)—Delaying the questions of the Church property restitution and the transformation of relations between the state and Church is completely unwise and harmful to both the state and Church, Vaclav Benda, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), told journalists today.

Property which belonged to the Church until February 25, 1948 (the day when the communist nationalisation decree was issued), is still blocked by respective provisos pertaining to the many articles of the privatisation act. The Church cannot be restituted until the adoption of a special bill, Benda said. Under the present conditions, churches as well as the privatisation process itself may be adversely affected, he added.

Coalition parties have agreed on a schedule to work out a proposal for the new bill, based on preliminary talks with the churches' representatives.

It emerged at a regular meeting of a group of coalition deputies held on July 13 that three parties—the KDS, the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL)—hold a common view in opposition to the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), said KDS Vice-Chairman Miroslav Tyl.

The three parties want to transform the relationship between the state and the Church swiftly, starting with the restitution of the Church property. The ODS, in contrast, envisages the beginning of the process being conditional on three laws regulating taxation, listed architectural monuments, and the place of the Church in the society. Tyl sees the acceptance of the ODS proposal as leading to months-long delay or even an indefinite postponement of the restitution's kick-off.

The churches must be first restituted their property, and only then can they finally be separated from the state, Benda said, adding that a reversed approach would bring all the churches down.

#### **Government Opposes Proposal Ending Federal Mandates**

*AU1607153493 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 14 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague 14 July (CTK)—The Czech Government disagrees with a proposal by a group of Czech parliament deputies to work out a bill which would end the mandates of former Czechoslovak federal parliament deputies and privileges connected with them, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists today after a cabinet meeting.

He said that the government did not feel the need to question the law which currently exists. If someone, for example, those who made the offer, has doubts, let them approach the institution which is entitled to interpret laws: The Constitutional Court, Klaus said.

At today's meeting, the government also disagreed with draft principles of a law on the elimination of venereal diseases and the fight against prostitution, pimping, trade in women and children. Klaus told journalists that the government is not indifferent to the problem. It considered the proposed draft well-founded but disagreed with proposed solutions.

We do not think that this socially pathological phenomenon, a focus point of many factors and influences, could be solved by law, Klaus said. He said that the problem is a matter for social and criminal policies as well as for prevention.

Parliament Deputy Emil Jaros for the ruling Civic Democratic Party (ODS)—the author of the draft—said that his goal was to stir stale waters in this question. The draft principles contain five parts—measures against spread of venereal diseases, prostitution, pimping, trade in women and children, as well as against pornography.

Klaus also commented on a recent recall of Vaclav Musilek from the post of editor in chief of Czech Radio's Radiozurnal station, saying that the recall was an absolutely childish and unfortunate move.

According to a decision by Czech Radio new Director Vlastimil Jezek, a Czech Television correspondent in Bratislava, Alexandr Picha, should take over from Musilek.

Klaus said that Musilek belongs among very efficient people who had turned Radiozurnal into an unquestionably quality station.

Musilek, an ODS member who was recalled on Monday [12 July] effective July 26, told journalists yesterday that the reasons for his dismissal were of a political nature. Both Jezek and Picha rejected the allegation.

#### **Factions Argue Over Postcommunist Property Division**

*AU1607172593 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 15 Jul 93 p 2*

["iv"-signed report: "After the Disintegration of the Party, Communists From Both Camps Began To Haggle Over Property"]

Prague—After the political rift in the Communist Party, a division of the property between the newly-formed factions—the remnants of the original Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] and the emerging Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]—will apparently follow.

Jaroslav Ortman, chairman of the Left Bloc deputies' club, was rather critical of the SDL demands which, according to him, gradually grow from the originally considered one-tenth to one-quarter or one-third of the total assets. The secretary of the SDL preparatory committee confirmed to us that the preliminary talks on the topic took place between the SDL and the KSCM representatives.

The SDL representatives justify their demands by the support of 87 delegates (i.e., 87,000 voters) at the Prostějov congress that split the party. In addition, the SDL uses the election results. According to this party, most of the voters either support or will soon support the SDL. However, according to Ladislav Kianica, KSCM deputy chairman, these so-called sympathizers might be "former members of the party who resigned under pressure of circumstances but remained true to it in their heart." The KSCM representatives so far do not see a reason for property talks because no official partition has taken place. The KSCM continues in its business as usual. This situation will change, however, when the SDL is officially registered at the Interior Ministry. That should take place this week.

According to our sources, the KSCM representatives will then consult the criteria and method of property division



with their members. The problem that has already become topical is the division of buildings and rooms. Numerous voters, and in some districts entire party organizations, are allegedly switching over to the SDL. In places where KSCM supporters are in the majority, arguments are occurring over rooms and space.

#### **Police 'Powerless' Against Mafia From Former Soviet Union**

*AU1607190093 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 15 Jul 93 p 7*

[Report by Sabina Slonkova: "The Police Are Powerless Against the Mafia From the Former Soviet Union"]

[Text] Prague—After Budapest, Prague is one of the most strategic cities for criminal gangs from the former Soviet Union. According to a police estimate, there are currently some 3,000 Ukrainians, Russians, Chechens, and Georgians who are engaged in organized crime.

Even the Mafia's bosses from the former Soviet Union have now settled in Prague. "There was organized crime at the beginning of the gangs' activity, but now the business of their top echelons is assuming legal forms. Their entrepreneurial activity is almost prosecution-proof. The police are powerless." This is what we were told by an anonymous police officer who is active in corps fighting against organized crime.

Organized criminal gangs from the former Soviet Union who are active in Prague are controlled by a single organization, whose leaders are exclusively Ukrainians. Virtually all of them are from Kiev.

Pavel Hofman, director of the Prague police, refused to explain his opinion on the activity of Ukrainians in Prague.

Officials from secret services have confirmed that the Mafia is headed by entrepreneur Mogilevic, whose contacts reach even the United States and Israel. He manages his "deals" from Budapest, which is where most of the money comes from and is "laundered" in the Czech Republic.

Mogilevic is organizing all the black markets from the former Soviet republics through the Czech Republic. Ukrainians are participating in deals with radioactive materials, weapons, including heavy caliber weapons, prostitution, drugs, and precious stones. Only a small portion of these goods remain in Prague; however, most of them go to the West.

A man by the name of Alexandrov is directly controlled by Mogilevic, and he controls capable Ukrainian Mafia

members in Prague—Vonogur, Katric, and former boxer Hais. Almost all of them have Israeli passports and are official owners of several firms. They own several restaurant compounds and deal in real estate. The purpose of some of their firms, however, is to "launder" their money.

Ukrainians in Prague meet in pizzerias at Vinohradska, in bars in Konevova, and they occupy luxurious Prague discos. Police, however, have known for more than a year and a half that the head office of the Ukrainians is the Smichov restaurant U Holubu, which includes a night bar, casino, and disco. Profits from illegal trade are being "laundered" here.

The Ukrainian Mafia in our capital is connected to the Ricany village near Prague. Ukrainians have at least two villas here, and they jog in the local park there. The victims of their murderous attacks were also taken in the Ricany direction, according to the police. Last October, they left entrepreneur Odincov here, tortured and dead. Another stabbed Ukrainian was discovered by the residents of the village in April. The most recent victim of Ukrainian Mafia members was found in Ricany at the end of May.

Such dirty work is being done by young men, often under 20, on the order of Mafia's top brass. They are trained by veterans from Afghanistan. In the Prague underworld, they are known not only for their excellent physical condition but for their brutality. People designed for liquidation are not shot, but, according to legal experts, are repeatedly stabbed. Before they die, they are tortured.

Young killers, however, are not always under the complete control of the bosses. They take their own action and attract attention. To a large extent, they participate in illegal trade with pistols and engage in blackmail. Sometimes they work on contract, which is how they usually improve their financial situation. Not only the blackmailed entrepreneurs are afraid to attempt resistance, but even the tough Yugoslav blackmailers, to whom these entrepreneurs have been paying money so far, are also afraid.

Mutual account settling and competition between organized criminal gangs from the former Soviet Union is not only restricted to the underworld. Not so long ago, one Czech citizen had to pay with his own life. According to an anonymous policeman, hired Ukrainian killers confused him with a Ukrainian Mafia member, Golubenko, who was to be killed on the contract ordered by his bosses. They had an older photograph, and in the shadow of a Prague house they killed Mr. Straka, who lived in that house, by mistake. The police have not found the killers.

**Meciar Addresses Nation About CEI Summit**

*LD1807193293 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in  
Slovak 1710 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Television Address by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on 18 July—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening dear fellow citizens, for almost 14 days, on the pages of the press, on the radio, television, in the National Council, the public have been agitated by reports about what is happening at Spis [area in eastern Slovakia, specifically the town of Spišské Podhradie], about the decree that imposes a night time curfew on the Romanies and other suspicious persons, the decree that refers to certain kinds of sanctions that are not grounded in our legislature.

One could say that the National Council's solution, that is abolishing the decree, makes everything fine. But that would be oversimplification because the interior minister told me that some mayors have similar trends, that if nothing else, they either want to gain popularity or want to intimidate. [passage omitted]

Every town or local representation draws its powers from the law. Every town representation can only do what the law permits. No official person or official institution can go against the law. If we want to live in a lawful state we cannot be left indifferent if someone creates norms that are in contradiction with the legislature of this state.

We have got used to talking in terms of what the world will say, what Europe will say. Let us pose the question differently: What will our own conscience say, what about the view of our own future? Injury and injustice toward one group creates the sort of situation wherein tomorrow someone else may become the victim of injury and injustice. We must all cultivate respect toward the law, adherence to the law as a security that we might also be treated according to law. The feeling of justice means getting rid of the principles of distinguishing people according to their belonging to certain ethnic or other group. [passage omitted]

That is why I turn to those who have similar intentions not to do anything that is in contradiction with the law. [sentence indistinct]

The past week was also characterized by complicated talks that took place at the Central European Initiative [CEI] summit in Budapest. [passage omitted]

The CEI deliberations were rather difficult for us, the Slovak side, because the drafted documents stipulated that a Central Europe conference should take place and a legally binding stance on the issue of minorities should be adopted there. The term legally binding means that it would be binding on a state—but a state as a sovereign entity can be bound only if it itself decides to accept the international standards. We disagreed with a regional organization adopting standards regulating all-European

relations. We are in favor of having the Council of Europe deciding about such standards as this is within its powers.

On this basis the Slovak delegation objected to the drafted text and demanded its changes. We encountered a rather strong opposition but—fully coordinating our actions with the Czech Republic, receiving friendly cooperation and support from it—we managed to defend our view and intention.

What matters to us is to see that the CEI as a regional grouping returns to its purpose, paying attention to the issues of regional and economic cooperation, and not turning every single matter-of-fact problem in the Central European space into a political issue.

We wish to follow the path of cooperation, looking for what we have in common—and not for what divides us.

During the CEI summit deliberations on a number of bilateral meetings took place. I will recall at least some of them, the most important ones.

Among those that I consider important, the late night talks with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus are foremost. He reopened the issue of the state border with great urgency. We returned to a proposal the government of the Slovak republic had received and to talks between the Czech and Slovak presidents. We reached an agreement that talks between a delegation of the Czech Republic government and a delegation of the Slovak republic government would start about respecting the following rules.

The first condition put forward by our side is that nothing will be changed as far as the present rights of citizens of the Slovak and Czech Republics to cross the border freely at any given point of the border is concerned.

The measure to be adopted is linked to internal political developments in the Czech Republic, to hard currency and visa measures—above all the visa ones. This results in citizens of third countries being allowed to cross this border only at specified places. At the same time, it is necessary to outline those places, to build the system in such a way that the checks will be carried out in one place shared by the Czech and Slovak side in order to solve the issue of expenditure as well, something not envisaged for 1993.

At the same time I conveyed to Mr. Klaus the very serious concern that this step might not be the last one taken by the Czech side. I would not want to see the Czech side coming back sometime later claiming that it is also necessary to close other roads and places normally used by citizens of both republics for meeting each other.

There was a wider dimension of Slovak-Czech cooperation in my talks with Klaus. Both sides are aware of the fact that it is necessary to do something in this sphere and we built on talks held by the finance ministers on Friday [16 July].

I also consider my talks with the Croatians to be extremely important. I heard very pleasing reports about the role played by our soldiers in Croatia, about how popular they are, about their discipline, impartiality, and efforts to help citizens of both sides involved in the fighting. In this context I was asked by the prime minister of the Croatian Government to help by sending yet another infantry battalion. He assumed that if the war ended by the end of the year it would still take some time before the weapons are silenced.

We agreed with the Slovenian Government prime minister that he would visit Slovakia shortly and we would sign an agreement on free trade between Slovenia and Slovakia. [passage omitted]

However, the talks with the Hungarian prime minister were the most important. We have explained our stances and searched for solutions in a very sincere, very open exchange of ideas that was based on arguments.

I am not going to mention the details of the talks, although a number of interesting and strong arguments could be found on either side. The conclusion was important.

We had to unequivocally agree that neither the Hungarian nor the Slovak republic benefits from the present status quo. I proposed to overcome the deadlock by concluding a treaty [velka zmluva] on cooperation between the Hungarian and Slovak Republics, acknowledging the unchangeability of the state border.

Of course, this proposal was debated. However, we were quite pleased to be able to see that, on the day following my talks with Hungarian Prime Minister Antall, Hungarian Foreign Minister Jaszszky our Foreign Minister Moravcik and said that the Hungarian side was willing to open talks on the matter.

Therefore, within 10 days, experts from Slovakia will meet experts at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry. We shall be seeking further common points so as to dispel on both sides concerns regarding developments and guarantees relating to the state borders. This will be a good signal for both of us and a message to the European world.

Who knows, it could be a message for those little Csurkas [referring to Istvan Csurka, Hungarian nationalist politician, chairman of the Hungarian Way Circles' Movement] in our country who think that the development in our country could take a different path. The borders are not going to change. The territories will remain as they are. Relations between people, respect, cooperation will change though. Hence, we could turn borders that separate into borders that bring together.

Thank you.

### Meciar on Ties With Czech Republic, Hungary

LD1607202493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Jul 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Lubomir Lintner; announced as given earlier "today"; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lintner] Mr. Prime Minister. At the beginning of July the Statistics Office published the results of an opinion poll on how many listeners hear your interviews. Regularly, or sometimes 46 percent of radio listeners hear this Friday interview. According to our Radio research department one percent equals about 30,000 listeners.

This means that last week, when you failed to grant us an interview, over 1 million listeners were surprised. This is one of the reasons why I do not think that your decision not to turn up for an interview was the best one—the decision you made on the basis of information that interviews with you, the parliament speaker, and deputies for Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] are allegedly banned, was not the best one.

[Meciar] I criticized the radio publicly. It is natural that senior radio employees defend themselves. However, no intervention is acceptable as far as the powers of the constitutional officials, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, and premier, and their right to a free choice to speak with anybody about anything are concerned. It is not acceptable that you in radio would sanction anybody for taking such a course of action. If this is the case we have to ask whether it is appropriate for me to continue dealing with the institution which declares itself to be a public institution while in breach of individuals' rights.

[Lintner] An important point in this affair is that nobody banned Radiozurnal editors from carrying out interviews, be it with you, be it with the parliament speaker or deputies for HZDS—the issue was purely a change in this radio slot.

[Meciar] I do not agree with you. I discussed the issue with radio deputy director Berko. It was discussed with him by the state secretary to the Ministry of Culture and the issues were clearly assessed. The deputy director confirmed too that this measure was aimed at preventing the premier of the government from acquiring unwarranted information. [sentence as heard]

[Lintner] However, I think we should not restrict our interview to this affair. [passage omitted]

Let us now discuss some things that are topical. At the time this interview is broadcast you will be in Budapest in the midst of the participants in the meeting of premiers of the Central European Initiative [CEI]. You should also have bilateral talks tonight with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus. One of the topics will be the border control system on the Slovak-Czech border. Mr. Prime Minister, two weeks ago you very categorically stated in



our interview: I will not raise my hand in the government on behalf of such an agreement.

This week you voiced the idea in this connection: We have never shut ourselves off from Mr. Klaus, so if he says there will be a border, there will be a border.

[Meciar] We must base ourselves on the documents which the government of the Slovak Republic officially disposes of. We have a draft agreement which has been prepared by the Czech Ministry of the Interior. There is no other official document; I have not got it. This morning I talked about it with the minister of foreign affairs, and he has not got it either. In other words, the statements they have made for the media in the Czech Republic saying that they are dropping the original document and want something else is, true, interesting, but we must know what is what first.

The second thing is the question of border crossings. Let us be frank. If we admit today that it is a restriction which will be valid for foreigners, we must consider the fact that tomorrow we will say that it is for our people. It will then be logically expressed, that despite this, foreigners are on the territory of the Czech Republic, they will try logically to prove that they cross legally from the Slovak side to the Czech side, that is, that one has to introduce protection along the entire border. The first condition for this is that the border be set out. As to possible ways out of this situation and the pressure which has been made from the Czech Republic, as international pressure—it is big pressure—but the Slovak Republic is clearly demonstrating that it does not want it; it considers it unnecessary and inadequate in the situation which is developing between our two peoples, inadequate in the situation for the coming millenium. If there is pressure on the border we must understand in broader political context why there is an attempt to build a firm border and create the foundations of future isolation, what the political motive is, what the economic background is. Is it connected only with Slovakia or are broader connections involved?

[Lintner] Mr. Prime Minister, do you have in mind some kind of geopolitical division which goes beyond the responsibility of our two republics?

[Meciar] It can be explained by geopolitical spheres of influence, where I certainly do not think that Slovakia would belong to a different zone than to which it ascribes to. But the possibility of tension in the central European area cannot be excluded.

[Lintner] This week the Czech side started implementing the approach of the standard border control system at border crossings toward the citizens of third countries, for example, 18 Romanians have been returned from the motorway crossing at Kutý-Lanzhot. Does that not mean that one will have to implement it more consistently on our part as well, let us say, on crossings with Hungary?

[Meciar] Well, we suggested that there should be coordination of visa policy. That has not happened. If the

Czech Republic introduces visa duties it is its right, and then, logically, it has a different system from us. But that does not mean that we will have to do it too. If the coordination of visa policy had taken place no border crossings would have to exist.

[Lintner] The German paper GENERAL ANZEIGER wrote in connection with this set of problems: Meciar's game with Prague is rather addressed to Bonn. The prime minister cannot understand why the Germans help financially, because of their asylum amendment, only their immediate neighbors, that is Prague and Warsaw, but why do they not help the countries which will also bear the consequences.

How do you understand this idea from the commentary in GENERAL ANZEIGER?

[Meciar] Above all, we have no interest in playing games with Prague because relations—and good relations—with Prague are priority for us. But everybody, when building mutual relations, has their own interest at heart. He presents his interest publicly and defends it. We see the development in the Czech Republic as not unequivocal in this question, if it were aimed at opening the entire green border [unofficial border crossings], although its previous steps had indicated toward it. Then I sometimes have the impression that the Czech politicians revert to the secret report, which I think has been published in the papers in Slovakia, where the creation of a firm green border has been assumed after all. So the system is movement in small steps, but it is directed toward it, and the trend is clear.

[Lintner] What are you going to tell [Hungarian] Prime Minister Antall?

[Meciar] The situation during the period we will be in Budapest is a complex one, both for me personally and for the whole Slovak delegation. I do not know all the people who are supposed to have received the letter. [Antall's letter to Klaus] All I know is that no such letter has been received in Bratislava. The aim of the letter is to create an anti-Slovak atmosphere even before the talks begin. I do not think it will be successful this time. However, the Republic of Hungary does tend to make relationships steadily worse. It can be clearly felt. There are complications in our relations. One example is the new initiative in the Nagymaros water project area, where a dam, which is our property, is to be demolished. Other examples include the recent initiative by Hungary in the Council of Europe, and the events that preceded the current meeting.

A draft resolution for the CEI has been prepared. Unfortunately, Milan Knazko left a very negative mark on the draft. It happened without me—the head of state—knowing.

[Lintner] Was the document being prepared while he was still in office?

[Meciar] Yes, in March 1993, when he was still in office. It was then envisaged that a legally binding document on the issues of minority policy should be drafted for a conference in Hungary. I ask you: What is a general and legally binding document supposed to mean? We are, after all, a sovereign state and no one can dictate to us. We cannot empower anyone to draft a document for us, which should then be adopted in Hungary at (?the Hungarian) initiative. It is quite clear where this would lead. What is more, the CEI's objective is not to draft regionally binding legal rules. If Europe is to integrate, it has to have a unified system of making rules, rather than one differing from region to region. It follows, therefore, that efforts to evoke a certain atmosphere at the talks and a negative stance toward Slovakia are something we will have to be prepared for. Anyway, I do not think that my position at international talks has ever been easy. It's all part of the job.

[Lintner] Prime Minister, are we going to be strong enough to continue averting Hungarian attacks? For example, Mr Janosz Martonyi, state secretary in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, said that as far as the Gabcikovo water project goes, cooperation with Slovakia is impossible.

[Meciar] This is a misleading statement. We could easily make one like that, too. However, it is fundamentally untrue. I have personally suggested to the Hungarian president—and also to Prime Minister Antall, through diplomatic channels—that we are prepared, at our own expense, to adopt a water regime in the old Danube river bed that would give Hungarians water even where they never had it in the first place. This initiative of mine has not been accepted.

Furthermore, it must be said that we are right. Despite this, our diplomatic policy has been on the defensive. Because it has been put in this defensive position by the former leadership of the Foreign Ministry, it will be up to the new minister—I analyzed the situation with him this morning—to get us out of this defensive position. It is unacceptable for the untruth to be spread around Europe, with us being secure in the knowledge that it is indeed untrue, but not coming forward to tell our truth to the world. In foreign policy, he who sits and waits for things to happen could wait forever.

I ascribe importance not just to what individual steps in foreign policy are about, but to the trend they follow, too. The trend here is not toward alleviation of tension. I am very sorry about this, because I used to assume our relations with Hungary would be very good.

[Lintner] Prime Minister, as regards relations with Hungary, is there not a chance that politicians representing the Hungarian minority in Slovakia could be a Trojan horse of Slovak statehood?

[Meciar] We must take into account the fact that Slovakia is in effect finishing the formation of its political make-up. This process is heading toward the creation of Slovakia's own political spectrum and also towards

forming minorities' and other interests. Elevating minority interest above the principle of preserving territorial unity and the population's coexistence amounts to an attempt to breach the integrity of the state. That is why the advocates of these trends—no matter whether they are aware of it or not—must understand that there is a limit to where coexistence ends and separation begins.

Furthermore, it must be unequivocally said that tension is not whipped up only by the circles formed from Hungarian political parties. Many of those advocating Czechoslovakism are generating tension, too. There are certain groups that are building their policies on the basis of Czechoslovakist interests. Their conduct is quite arrogant. They are making use of the high level of democracy in our country, but they are pursuing different policies even in this respect. A logical outcome of this situation abroad is the tension in Budapest, and even tension in government circles.

Certain not very positive trends and signals are also coming from Prague.

In this situation, the issue of the media—or on whose side is the media—is also an important factor. Is the media siding with the protection of the integrity, security and unity of the Slovak Republic's territory as a state? Or does its loyalty lie elsewhere? For example, the steps taken by Slovak Television on the eve of our admission to the Council of Europe did not represent an act of democracy, but an act of political malice.

I am not going to instruct anyone how to write. These views will continue to exist and will be publicly proclaimed. But if, for example, I should monitor, on a daily basis, the Hungarian press or the Hungarian-language press published in the Slovak Republic, there would not be a day without an article being published whose objective is to heighten tension, to evoke the feeling of being exposed to danger and confrontation. And this—God forbid—is not the aim of this government. It is the aim of those who are creating this kind of psychosis. That is why we should apply far more (?panache) in dealing with them.

[Lintner] Prime Minister, to wind up our conversation, here is the following question. Given the present situation, will Slovakia have enough power to stand up to both the Hungarians and the Czechs, if I can put it this way?

[Meciar] We do not wish to stand up either to the Hungarians or to the Czechs. What we want is to modify the rules for our relations and cooperation so as to bring them to European standards. In this respect we have more success with the Czech Republic and less with the Hungarian Republic. It is only a matter of time before political representatives on all sides change their conduct. The Czech Republic is dominated by a post-division syndrome. Many will have to come to terms with it, and they are doing this in their own way. On the

other hand, I cannot see these trends in the Czech Government and in Vaclav Klaus. This is an area where we must exercise trust.

Hungarian politics is solving its internal problems abroad. [sentence as heard] By creating the feeling that minorities are in danger and by whipping up tension on the border, Hungarian politics is controlling—and this has been going on for some time—the internal political ferment in the country. That is not a good situation.

Regarding Hungarian politicians or Slovak politicians of Hungarian nationality, then some of them are overexposing their views and positions when contemplating that new [Istvan] Csurka-style politicians may be budding in Slovakia. I hope that we have finally resolved this problem.

So, we will have to look into the future, not into the past; we should not dwell on the exclusiveness of minorities. The government must reexamine its policy toward areas with mixed population, not only to prevent the worsening of the situation, but to ensure that a Slovak citizen living on a territory with mixed population would enjoy the same protection, the same subsidy and support by the state as does a Hungarian citizen. And so, we will have to balance matters in the areas where, through our endeavor to protect minorities, we have neglected members of the Slovak nation living in this region.

#### **Moravcik, EC Ambassador Sign PHARE Memorandum**

*LD1507171493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 15 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] Shortly before midday on 15 July, Foreign Affairs Minister Jozef Moravcik received Leopoldo Giunti, EC commission ambassador to the Czech and Slovak Republics. Giunti came to Bratislava to sign the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program memorandum for 1993. Slovakia is to receive 40 million ECU. [passage omitted]

Ivo Kunsch reports from the Borik Hotel in Bratislava where the signing took place:

[Kunsch] Shortly after 1100, Minister Moravcik and Ambassador Giunti signed a memorandum outlining the PHARE program. This is an historic occasion in that it is the first agreement of this kind signed between the EC and an independent Slovakia. The program aims to assist with the restructuring of state companies in order to increase the efficiency of Slovak industry and to integrate Slovak trade into European markets. It consists mostly of investment.

EC Ambassador Leopoldo Giunti, who heads the EC delegation, said there had been a change in the PHARE program concept. It is to become more specific and to address Slovakia's needs more closely. This means that the EC has acknowledged the priorities outlined by the

Slovak Government. The project takes into account the prospect of Slovakia's admission to the EC and is designed accordingly.

We have learned that annual allocations of PHARE resources are to be abandoned in the future. The projects will cover four years at a time. The current program is the last annual project. The new system is to start next year.

#### **Response to Hungarian Complaint About Danube**

*LD1607171593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] At a news conference yesterday, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry state secretary put the complete blame on the Slovak side for the failure to reach to this day an agreement on the division of the Danube waters, or, in other words, on a temporary water management system. Since he noted that the Slovak position remained unchanged, we asked Juraj Hrasko, the chairman of the Slovak National Council commission dealing with the issues of the Gabčíkovo Nagymaros hydroproject for a comment.

[Begin Hrasko recording] According to the London protocol, the Hungarians want us to channel two thirds of the water flow to the Danube. For what purpose do they need this water?

There is no more navigation on the Danube, so they need it to irrigate the Danube marsh woodlands on the Hungarian side. The same woodland area is also on the Slovak side. Thus, the Slovaks are expected to provide from one third of the flow both the navigation and the water supply to roughly the same wooded area as the one on the Hungarian territory. [passage omitted]

One should point out that the weather in this part of Europe has been very dry and that Slovakia is short of water. Even the 300 cubic meters of flow in the Danube is caused to a certain extent by the fact that the Danube is generally short of water and not because the Slovaks do not want to release the water. [passage omitted]

I do not think that this issue should be tackled on a political level. It is a problem for experts, who should be able to deal with this situation without paying attention to any political considerations. [passage omitted]

What is at issue is that the obstructions laid down by the Hungarian side and the statements by Mr. State Secretary Martonyi, which are to a certain extent binding, could result in the drying up of wooded areas on the Hungarian side. If they do dry up because of Hungary, then there will be no reason to continue our negotiations. [end recording]



**Surcharge on Czech Imports To Be Reevaluated**

*AU1607145993 Prague CTK in English 2107 GMT  
14 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague July 14 (CTK)—No list of Czech goods singled out for an import surcharge has been as yet worked out by the Slovak authorities, Rudolf Besik told CTK today.

General director of the Customs Union Council's Permanent Secretariat in Bratislava said that an improved balance of payments and the 10 percent devaluation of the Slovak crown with regard to the freely-interchangeable currencies have resulted in Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth's current reevaluation of the scope of the surcharge, the date of its introduction and whether it should be introduced at all.

The measure is expected to hit 30-40 percent of the Czech-produced imports to Slovakia, Besik estimated.

Introducing the surcharge is a sensitive issue, he said, adding that Slovakia might lose some suppliers and there could be repercussions in the social sector, which is why compiling the list is so difficult.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has allowed that a maximum 20 percent import surcharge can be imposed immediately by Slovakia, to be cut by about one half as of the beginning of 1994, Josef Kiss, head of the Foreign Trade Section at the Czech Ministry for Industry and Trade, told CTK.

**Statement by Chairwoman of Radio, TV Council**

*LD1807203693 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in  
Slovak 1940 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] Emilia Boldisova, chairwoman of the Council of the Slovak Republic for Radio and Television Broadcasts has asked us to broadcast the following information:

The Slovak Radio refused to broadcast in its Radio-zurnal today my viewpoint on yesterday's address by Vladimir Stefko, director general of the Slovak Radio. As chairwoman of an independent organ, elected by the parliament, whose duty it is to monitor the objectivity of broadcasting, I must consider this so called a priori refusal, without getting acquainted with the text, a serious breach of plurality, and the right of citizens to information. It is a part of a purposeful campaign against the decision of the National Council of the Slovak republic on approving the law on some measures in radio and television broadcasts. It was within the framework of this campaign that the politically dangerous statement of the director general of the Slovak Radio had been heard about the alleged threat to broadcasting for minorities by virtue of this law.

The Council of the Slovak Republic for Radio and Television Broadcasts will report these matters to the National Council of the Slovak republic and, at the same time, to the Radio Council headed by Pavol Dvorak.

The entire text of the contribution of Emilia Boldisova will be granted to the press agency of the Slovak republic.

**Jeszenszky on Talks With Slovakia's Moravcik**  
*LD1707221293 Budapest MTI in English 2157 GMT  
17 Jul 93*

[Text] Budapest, July 17 (MTI)—Hungary has repeatedly expressed its preparedness to sign inter-state treaties, confirming its good relationship with its neighbours and other states. It holds it conceivable for such a treaty to be concluded with Slovakia but first a number of conditions should be met, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told MTI on Saturday evening.

The minister said that his Budapest talks with Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik were misinterpreted by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, who said, upon returning to Bratislava, that Hungary held it possible to conclude a basic treaty, declaring the constancy of the two countries' boundary.

Jeszenszky said that although the two countries agreed on a number of points, some issues, for instance the Gabcikovo affair, the situation of minorities and schooling, should still be settled before such a step is made.

As far as the constancy of the border is concerned, Hungary has never challenged the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty, Jeszenszky said. Should the Slovaks insist on it, the two sides may look for a formula which reaffirms the validity of the border as specified in the peace treaty. But no matter what kind of inter-state treaty is concerned, Slovakia should first make the steps which are indispensable conditions of concluding the treaty.

**Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Meets Slovak Counterpart**

*AU1907161393 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT  
18 Jul 93*

[Text] Budapest, 18 July (MTI)—Should both sides so desire, the foreign affairs committees of the Hungarian and the Slovak Parliaments may start regular consultations this year, Laszlo Kovacs, chairman of the Hungarian committee, told MTI today [18 July].

Kovacs and his counterpart, Ivan Laluha, met on a Hungarian initiative during the July 16-17 summit meeting of the Central European Initiative in Budapest.

The talks focussed on affairs concerning the minorities—the name law, bilingual place-names, the reform of public administration, and compensation.

Concerning the Name Law adopted recently, Laluha said that the delay in its coming into force was due to linguistic rather than political reason. He shared the Hungarian view that it would have been more fortunate if these inconsistencies had been eliminated yet before the passage of the law.

As for the place-names of localities inhabited by ethnic Hungarians, Laluha said there was a continued debate

over what name should accompany the Slovak one on name-plates: the historical name of the locality or its Slovak name in Hungarian.

On the score of the administrative reform, Kovacs said Hungary would welcome if representatives of the Hungarian parties and organizations in Slovakia were involved in preparations.

Laluha said that the Hungarian minority's exclusion from compensation was due to social rather than political reasons. The Slovak authorities wish to set a limit to compensation and prevent claims for huge pieces of real estate, he said.

**Meciar's Views on Treaty Based on 'Misunderstanding'**

*LD1907130293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 19 Jul 93*

[Text] According to a foreign affairs spokesman, the statement by Slovak head of state Vladimir Meciar that the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty can soon be concluded is based on a misunderstanding. Janos Herman, speaking at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told us that there is no decision on starting negotiations, and that the government does not consider it necessary to lay down the inviolability of borders in another agreement. The foreign affairs spokesman, speaking on television about last week's Antall-Meciar talks, said that the Hungarian diplomacy is not convinced that Slovakia is ready to implement the recommendations of the Council of Europe for improving the minorities' situation.

**Security Expert Views Ukraine's Nuclear Position**

*AU1907114093 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian  
16 Jul 93 p 3*

[Interview with Imre Fulop, member of the Defense Ministry's Strategic and Defense Research Institute, by Attila Lenart; place and date not given: "Do We Need To Be Afraid of the Ukrainian Nuclear Arms?"]

[Text] Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the bi-polar world system, the uncontrollable spread of nuclear arms, rather than a total war, is the worst nightmare of the western leaders. Kiev is reluctant to give up its status of a nuclear power and a number of unconfirmed rumors have been raised on unofficial nuclear arms sales. These kinds of deals can also destabilize the East-Central European region whose security, according to some western experts, is as least as dependent on Kiev as on NATO or on Moscow. We interviewed Imre Fulop on this issue.

[Lenart] Does the agreement on arms limitation and nuclear nonproliferation that was made with the Soviet Union also apply to the successor states, including Ukraine?

[Fulop] Yes. In 1992 in Lisbon, the successor states agreed with the United States on the validity of the

agreements on the limitation of the nuclear arms and armament systems and on the prevention of their proliferation. Ukraine also accepted joining the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as a country that does not possess nuclear arms, and in a letter to the U.S. President it undertook to remove all nuclear arms from its territory within seven years. The agreement states that Russia is the legal successor of the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal.

[Lenart] Who controls these weapons at the moment?

[Fulop] Formally, it is the chief commander of the military forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], which is the alliance of the former Soviet Union's member states. However, the commanding system is Russian and, therefore, it is under Yeltsin's control. The leaders of the member states also have some power over the nuclear weapons. They cannot launch missiles and cannot effectively prevent this, either, because they only have a right of veto. To quote [Ukrainian President] Kravchuk: His role is to achieve that missiles are not launched, if possible.

The direct control is under dispute: The personnel of the bases belongs to the nuclear forces of the CIS (Russia), but it is formally under Ukrainian supervision. Russia is actually worried about the technical control.

[Lenart] According to certain sources, Ukraine is willing to sell nuclear arms. Can this affect our region?

[Fulop] It is very unlikely that Kiev would risk any nuclear arms deals. The nuclear arms do not actually belong to it, therefore, it cannot sell them. This cannot be done officially, and the mafia has not yet reached this far. In theory, in the long run, this possibility cannot be excluded, but the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] and the United States are both watching this very carefully. Nuclear basic materials or some "disappeared" warheads might appear in black market deals, but it is unlikely that these will find buyers in eastern Central Europe. These fears show the ever increasing concern of the West.

[Lenart] How well founded is this concern?

[Fulop] At the announcement of its independence, Ukraine declared that it did not wish to remain a major nuclear power, however, the nuclear striking power and its disarmament is a very good tool of blackmail, with the goal of alleviating economic problems. Their basic point is that if the United States finances Moscow in order that it liquidates its nuclear arms then Ukraine could also be paid for the same thing. They find the \$174 million that has been offered to them too little and they would like to have nearly \$2.8 billion.

The biggest problem was put across by Ukrainian experts when they said that if the United Nations and the whole world had not been pressurizing Kiev for nuclear disarmament then it would have been completed a long time ago. However, a young and proud republic cannot easily bow to intellectual arguments. In addition, the weapons

have but a small security policy role although Kiev often refers to a possible restoration by Russia and to renewing dreams of the empire. The nuclear force only fuels a false illusion of security. Therefore, rather than guarantees, it is, as much as possible, money that is needed just now.

#### **Ministry Says No Danger for Hungarians in Croatia**

*LD1607194393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has affirmed that the Hungarian citizens residing on the Istra peninsula in Croatia are not threatened by any danger. According to the ministry's communique, fighting is going on only in the region of Karlovac and for the occupation of the pontoon bridge being built at Maslenica, near Zadar. The foreign ministry, in view of the situation, continues to follow the events in Croatia with special attention and is informing the public continuously.

#### **Szabo, Germany's Waigel on 'Excellent Economic Ties'**

*LD1607175393 Budapest MTI in English 1529 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Budapest, July 16 (MTI)—Germany appreciates Hungary's resolute progress in its difficult path, German Finance Minister Theo Waigel told reporters in Budapest on Friday.

Waigel, who is also president of the Christian Social Union (CSU), visited Hungary for four days with the party's Bundestag group. He met his colleague Ivan Szabo before leaving on Friday.

Speaking to journalists, Waigel called Hungary a reliable partner and an attractive destination for Western investors.

At his talks with Szabo, he said they had discussed the excellent economic ties existing between the two countries. The Germans were ready to share with Hungary privatization experience from the former German Democratic Republic, as well as provide assistance, he added.

Answering questions, Waigel said its stability made Hungary an attractive place for German investors. That the country did not ask for a rescheduling of its debts had contributed to Western confidence in it.

#### **Foreign Minister Comments on New Minorities Law**

*LD1607180693 Budapest MTI in English 1706 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Budapest, July 16 (MTI)—Hungary passed the law on minorities not to set a model for its neighbours but because it owed the measure to minorities in the country, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told the press



on Friday. At the press conference, before the opening of a Central European Initiative summit, Jeszenszky said a successful economic transformation in Eastern Europe needs mainly peace and tolerance, and a precondition for that is settlement of the status of national minorities.

Jeszenszky referred to minority laws between the two World Wars, guaranteed by the League of Nations. He

said the same would be possible now, with the controlling role played by the Council of Europe.

Asked by a correspondent of Slovak Radio, Jeszenszky said the July 12 letter by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to Czech counterpart Vaclav Klaus did not mention any action against Slovakia. The letter called for joint responsibility in order that Slovakia adopt the laws important for minorities and proposed by the Council of Europe.

**Onyszkiewicz Reiterates Polish Aim To Join EC, NATO**

*LD1707202993 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] [Announcer] A festive graduation ceremony has taken place at the National Defense Academy in Rembertow [near Warsaw] today. National Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Jerzy Milewski, head of the National Security Office took part in it.

During the ceremony the defense minister said that Poland did not consider anyone as its enemy but that the Army had to be prepared for any kind of threat. The minister reiterated that the fundamental strategic aim of our country was to join the European Community and NATO. The minister added that Poland was probably the only country in the world that has acquired several new neighbors in the past few years.

[Begin Onyszkiewicz recording] In the past we had three neighbors: the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Those countries no longer exist. Sometimes one thinks it is a good thing, sometimes one can assess this in a different way—but that is the way it is. Consequently, our way of thinking about defense matters must also be different. Above all this is our own thinking. Poland's security policy and the way the Polish Armed Forces are managed is decided here in Warsaw. The government makes decisions about this; decisions are made within the president's structures, and by the general staff, but the general concepts—the military art—are being developed mainly here, at the Academy of National Defense. [end recording]

**Talks With London Club on Debt To Resume 19 July**

*LD1807174193 Warsaw PAP in English 1725 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] Warsaw, July 18—The third round of talks on reducing Polish debts in the commercial banks grouped in the London Club will start on Monday in London. Poland wants to reach an agreement similar to that with the Paris Club in 1991, which reduced the Polish debt by 50 per cent. "If the Polish proposal was accepted the negotiations might end soon," claims Polish debt negotiator Krzysztof Krowacki.

The Polish debt in the London Club amounts to 12.3 billion U.S. dollars and the annual repayments should not exceed 400 million dollars otherwise it would hinder Poland's economic growth, according to a long-term forecast of economic growth approved by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

During their meeting with the London Club banks in Vienna on May 7 Polish negotiators presented three options, under the first one Poland would buy its debt back at a market price, under the two other options the debt would be changed into 30-year-long discount or parity bonds.

The commercial banks have not presented their own proposal yet and it is still unknown what their attitude to the Polish offer is. So far, they have only declared they are ready to reduce the debt substantially.

May negotiations established that all kinds of the debts, that is long and medium-term credits (8.3 billion dollars), revolving credit (1.1 billion dollars) and due interest rates (almost 3 billion dollars) will be covered by the reduction.

According to the London Club if Poland agreed to a 35-per cent reduction it would be possible to sign the agreement instantly. In real terms the reduction will reach 60 per cent as the interest rate of the American dollar decreased over the last few years.

Negotiations with the London Bank [as received] were broken in 1991 when the IMF suspended the agreement with Poland. In 1992 representatives of the banks held two working meetings with Polish debt negotiators and resumed the talks in 1993.

**Solidarity Sends Open Letter to Walesa**

*LD1607191193 Warsaw PAP in English 1843 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Warsaw, July 16—The Solidarity trade union on Friday called on President Lech Walesa to "cause an immediate introduction" of the long-planned stamping of tobacco and alcohol with excise bands. In an open letter to the president, Solidarity demands that a body be set up to control the revenues and their distribution.

The union stressed that the funds obtained from excise band stamping should be earmarked for the budget-financed sector and social security programmes for persons on very low incomes.

The government plans to stamp tobacco and alcohol with excise bands on August 1.

Solidarity also touched upon such issues like the lowering of the excess wage tax and combatting unemployment.

All the issues referred to in the letter are included in a package of proposals discussed by the president and Solidarity at the June meeting. The solution of these problems is "an indispensable condition of a stable situation in our country."

**Suchocka Accepts Acting Minister's Resignation**

*LD1707164793 Warsaw PAP in English 1633 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] Warsaw, July 17—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka accepted the resignation of acting Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Janusz Bylinski, offered on Friday, and would appoint a new minister in the coming days, deputy head of the Government Press Office Dariusz Jadowski said on Saturday. He added that the resignation did not come as a surprise.

Commenting on Ms Suchocka's Friday decision to dismiss the head of the Agricultural Market Agency (ARR), Jadowski said that the prime minister made the decision after studying the results of the inspection conducted in the ARR by the cabinet office which revealed serious irregularities in the operation of the agency and showed that the ARR did not fulfill its tasks in stabilizing the grain and fodder market.

#### **Farmers' Trade Union To Run in Elections**

*LD1807161393 Warsaw PAP in English 1600 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] Lublin, July 18—The Farmers' "Samoobrona" (Self-Defence) Trade Union will run in the forthcoming parliamentary elections to help reconstruct the economy destroyed in recent years by an anti-Polish policy conducted in line with the request of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), "Samoobrona" Leader Andrzej Lepper said at a meeting with farmers in Kijany (Lublin province) on Sunday.

Talking about the party's programme Lepper said that the most important thing is to provide jobs as then there will be taxes and money for the state budget.

"Our programme is unchanging," Lepper stressed, "we must put an end to destroying and stealing Poland away. We do not promise anything, it is hard times and it will be hard times, but it is the state's duty to provide normal work conditions and decent living standard."

#### **UD Approves Candidates for Sejm Deputies, Senators**

*LD1807184893 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] The Democratic Union [UD] has approved today a list of its 497 candidates for Sejm deputies and 63 candidates for senators.

The list also includes candidates who do not belong to the UD, for example former Solidarity deputies Bogdan Borusewicz, Jan Rulewski, and Wojciech Arkuszewski, as well as representatives of local government and professional milieux. The decision of the UD authorities that they will run independently in the parliamentary elections is still binding. However, cooperation with the Liberal Democratic Congress [KLD] has been, after all, agreed. This cooperation concerns mutual support in the elections to the Senate.

Bronislaw Geremek told journalists about this. [passage omitted]

Bronislaw Geremek does not share the fears that cooperation with the Christian National Union [ZChN] in Hanna Suchocka's government will have a bad effect on UD's electoral result.

[Begin Geremek recording] We hope that this will not be an obstacle; we daresay, however, that it will help us because this will be proof that we are able to reach a

sensible compromise with anyone who accepts sensible principles. I want, however, to stress that we are entering our electoral campaign with a feeling that much has been done in the past years. We realize that sometimes people may be tired of words, and that is why we will use concrete things in this campaign. [end recording]

#### **ZChN Leader Outlines Party's Agenda**

*LD1807190293 Warsaw PAP in English 1849 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] Gorzow Wielkopolski, July 18—The most urgent economic tasks include making the international finance institutions give up their demand to increase energy prices to the world level and setting up a liquidation commission of domestic debt, deputy chairman of the Christian National Union (ZChN) Henryk Goryszewski told a pre-election meeting in Gorzow Wielkopolski on Sunday.

According to Goryszewski further hikes in energy prices would lead to the destruction of the Polish industry. As it consumes more energy than Western factories, Polish products would always be at a disadvantage and would cost more than their Western equivalents.

The liquidation commission would take over domestic debts of the state-owned enterprises amounting to 400 trillion zlotys (some 22 billion U.S. dollars) and would aim to make the indebted firms restructure.

Other priority tasks of the Catholic electoral coalition "Ojczyzna" (Homeland), of which the ZChN is a member, include supporting the economic growth, limiting unemployment, finding a solution to housing problems, upgrading industries, introducing a new agricultural policy that would encourage mortgage credits and investment.

While supporting local governments Goryszewski criticised the idea of dividing Poland into autonomous regions which would take over powers that belong now to the legislature. This would weaken the state, he stressed.

The ZChN will also try to re-introduce entry visas for people coming to Poland from the east and from the south as, according to Goryszewski, they help to create in Poland a Mafia underground.

Speaking about his electoral coalition, Goryszewski said that if the Peasant Agreement (PL) wanted to join it, the "Ojczyzna" electoral bloc is ready to renegotiate the coalition agreement.

The "Ojczyzna" coalition comprises five parties: the ZChN, the Conservative Party (PK), the Party of Christian Democrats (PCHD), the Peasant-Christian Party (SLCH) and the Federation of Polish Employers.

#### **CUP Releases Data on State of Economy**

*LD1607220793 Warsaw PAP in English 1947 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Warsaw, July 16— The most positive signs in the Polish economy in the first half of 1993 were an increase



in industrial output, and a further fall in the rate of inflation, according to figures released by the Central Office of Planning (CUP) on Friday. However, Poland continues to face rising unemployment, a growing trade deficit, and a crisis in the public finances.

In the period January-June 1993, industrial output was 9.4 percent higher than in the corresponding period for 1992, with construction showing an increase in excess of 10 percent over the first half of 1992. The figures for the first six months of 1993 suggest that the construction industry, after 4 years of decline, is now beginning to recover, although the home construction sector continues to show serious weakness.

The CUP figures suggest that Polish businesses are beginning to improve their financial performances, with cost ratios and the rate of losses continuing to decline.

Retail price increases continued to slow, in accordance with government forecasts.

There are indications of a continuing decline in the household finances of Polish families, with savings ratios falling in line with the fall in interest rates. There are signs, however, that personal foreign currency savings are increasing.

The most significant problem facing Poland is, however, the trade balance, which worsened considerably in the first half of 1993. In the first five months of this year, export volumes were 8.3 percent lower than for the analogical period in 1992, while exports jumped by 22.5 percent. According to CUP, import purchases to beat the VAT [value-added tax] deadline were a major contributory factor in the negative trade balance, which reached 796 million dollars by the end of the first half.

The American dollar increased by 12.7 percent against the Polish zloty over the first six months of 1992, helped by a sharp jump in June - in line with the increase in industrial product prices.

The Polish budget deficit was 31 trillion zlotys (about 1.7 billion dollars), compared with a forecast budget out-turn for the whole of 1993 of 81 trillion zlotys.

#### Opinion Poll Shows Change in Voter Preferences

WS1907072693 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jul 93 p 1

[Report attributed to E.O.: "SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] in the Lead of Preelection Opinion Poll; Seven Wonderful Parties"]

[Text] Democratic Left Alliance may have the greatest representation in the future legislature. In the July opinion poll, carried out by the Sopot Public Opinion Research Institute for RZECZPOSPOLITA, the alliance received support from almost 16-percent of the respondents. The Democratic Union [UD] was second and the BBWR [Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms]—third. If the results of the opinion poll corresponded to the results of the election, we would have only seven parties in the future legislature.

Even though the election campaign is not in full swing yet and we do not know the candidates for deputies and senators, the preferences of the voters are visibly changing. Support for the SLD is increasing; the party is now in the lead in opinion polls. In the last month, support for the UD has decreased by 5 percent; the party now has the support of 13 percent of the population and occupies second place. For the first time in the past year support for the UD has dropped below the level of 14 percent. The popularity of the PSL [Polish Peasant Party] has decreased by a staggering 6 percent, from the level of 11 percent last month to less than 5 percent in July. If this trend is sustained, the PSL may have difficulties in obtaining enough votes to enter the legislature. If we consider the fact that opinion polls do not give any chance of entering the legislature to any other peasant parties, Polish farmers may lose parliamentary representation at their own request (due to a dispersion of votes).

The effective promotion of the BBWR as a proreform bloc that is more efficient than a party, turned out to be convincing for the public. Even though the BBWR has appeared in one of our opinion polls for the first time, it occupies third place, having obtained the support of almost 9 percent. The KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] is still supported by 7 percent of respondents. The Labor Union [UP] and Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD] are close to the 5-percent threshold which must be crossed to enter the legislature. The opinion poll results, however, are not a guarantee that they will participate in Sejm and Senate sessions after the election.

According to the latest opinion polls, the parties that will not enter the legislature are: NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] "S" (3.2 percent), ZChN [Christian-National Union] (2.6), as well as Solidarity '80, PL [Peasant Agreement], PC [Center Accord], and RdR [Movement for the Republic].

In the last opinion poll of the Public Opinion Research Institute of Sopot, more than 35 percent of respondents declared that they would go to the polls for sure, while 27 percent of respondents were almost sure of that. Seventeen percent of the public would not go to the polls for sure, while 20 percent did not feel like voting in the election.

The research was carried out on 10 and 11 August on a group of 1,039 adults.

#### Election Preferences

|               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| SLD           | 16 percent |
| UD            | 13 percent |
| BBWR          | 9 percent  |
| KPN           | 7 percent  |
| PSL           | 5 percent  |
| UP            | 5 percent  |
| KLD           | 5 percent  |
| NSZZ "S"      | 3 percent  |
| The undecided | 21 percent |
| Others        | 16 percent |

**Gherman, Nastase Discuss Integration Issues With NATO***AU1707124593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1719 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/7/1993—Romania's integration in European structures and its ties with NATO were that main subjects tackled by the Senate's President Oliviu Gherman, and the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, Adrian Nastase, Friday, July 16, when they received a delegation headed by Loic Bouvard, chairman of the North Atlantic Assembly [NAA]. Mr. Bouvard said that the West was open to the changes going on in Romania's political and social-economic life, whose integration in European structures should be more rapid. He added that "Parliament has to be a vector of this integration due to the legislative activity specific to it, and also through parliamentary diplomacy, in today's context, which favours the expansion of inter-parliamentary relations."

Subjects were also discussed, such as Romania's role as an element of stability in the geopolitical zone it is part of, its integration in the new European system of collective security. The sides voiced their hopes that Romania's links with the North Atlantic Assembly—the NATO Parliament—would continue to develop and Romania would be backed to overcome the difficulties springing from the its enforcement of the UN embargo against Yugoslavia.

Loic Bouvard and NAA Secretary General Peter Cortier had separate interviews with members of the Foreign Policy, Defence, Public Order and National Security Commissions of the Romanian Senate and Chamber of Deputies, with representatives of parliamentary groups.

**Ministry Rebuts Hungarian Statement on Ties***AU1407132893 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 9 Jul 93 pp 1, 5*

["Considerations by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Connection With a Statement by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] In connection with the statement by the spokesman of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with regard to certain assessments made by President Ion Iliescu regarding Romanian-Hungarian relations at his latest news conference, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wants to present a few brief considerations:

Like the Hungarian side, the Romanian side is concerned with the current stage of our relations. We want to normalize, improve, and relaunch these relations. This is perfectly possible and has been proved by the success of Romanian-Hungarian cooperation in the military, educational, and health areas.

The statement by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which wants to "sum up" Romanian-Hungarian relations, incorporates numerous questionable assessments.

The statement by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs reiterates an aspect that has often been the subject of reproaches made by the Hungarian partners. It regards the visit paid to Bucharest on 28 December 1989 (and not in January 1990, as it is erroneously mentioned) by Mr. Gyula Horn, Hungary's foreign minister at that time. On that occasion, the Hungarian dignitary presented a number of claims by the Hungarian side to the new postrevolutionary leadership, some of which were groundless, while others constituted clear interference in affairs pertaining to bilateral Romanian-Hungarian relations. Reference is made—and repeated—to verbal promises that had allegedly been made at that time within the context of potentially normal relations at that point. The open attitude by the Romanian leadership toward a goodwill visit, as Mr. Gyula Horn's visit was viewed, has been deliberately misread. During those still-heated times, Romania's leadership, as well as the entire Romanian nation, were concerned with the holy task of preserving the country's territorial integrity and its independence and sovereignty.

The assertions in the statement according to which no progress has been achieved in the bilateral judicial area and that our experts are systematically rejecting Hungarian proposals are wrong.

We want to recall that in June this year, we concluded negotiations regarding a convention on double taxation and promoting and protecting investments. Both texts are initialed and ready to be signed.

True, difficulties are encountered at border crossing points. Both the Romanian and Hungarian sides know the reasons for these difficulties created by the tremendous increase in traffic due to the Yugoslav crisis. Romania's government is preparing a number of laws to ensure the financing of the expansion and modernization of existing border checkpoints. To ensure smooth traffic, further such checkpoints will be opened, a move that has been communicated to the Hungarian side but which has been omitted in the said statement.

At the same time, part of the difficulties are due to Hungary and its insufficient number of customs officials and slow checking procedures.

The basic political treaty, however, remains the centerpiece of the bilateral judicial framework in Romanian-Hungarian relations.

Even in the statement made by the spokesman, the Hungarian authorities repeat that the formulation in the Hungarian-Ukrainian treaty on the absence of territorial claims cannot constitute a precedent for the Romanian-Hungarian treaty.

What are the real motives for the Hungarian side to flatly reject such a solution—which was negotiated specifically—in the case of the treaty with Romania as well?

As far as the situation and protection of minorities in Romania are concerned, there is no reticence on our part. What is good for Europe in this respect, is good for Romania as well.

We cannot ignore, however, that along with the "innovation" of concepts alien to the pertinent practices and documents, with the resumption of the known ideas of the so-called "legitimacy of Hungary's relations with the organizations of the Hungarian minority" in other states, and with the "correctness of the solidarity by the mother-nation with its national components," no reference is made to the—essential—obligation by people belonging to such minorities of being loyal to the country in which they live and to the state whose citizens they are.

Failure to refer to this obligation, which is both essential and elementary, does nothing but turn such affirmations into instigations and raise additional questions about the genuine desire to relaunch bilateral relations, including negotiations on the Romanian-Hungarian political treaty.

We are ready to discuss all problems on the agenda of our relations both in general terms and each one in detail. At the same time, we are convinced that the achievement of Romanian-Hungarian contacts at the top level is the most secure way of overcoming the current situation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has taken all necessary steps toward holding an official meeting between the diplomatic chiefs of the two countries. Foreign Minister Melescanu has used every possible opportunity—such as the Gyula case or the Budapest NATO seminar—to hold talks with his Hungarian counterpart, something that, unfortunately, does not apply to the opposite side.

With the approach of the fall and of the electoral campaign, the paper containing the invitation to Minister Jeszenszky to visit Romania, has already begun to turn yellow.

As a matter of fact, we have a feeling that the statement of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is meant more for the domestic public.

Herewith, we want to remind the Hungarian side that the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs will continue to respect the moratorium on press statements agreed upon in Stockholm between the ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries.

## Delegation From Moldova Pays Visit to Romania

### Snegur Meets With Iliescu, Press

AU1707201593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 17 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Today, a delegation from the Republic of Moldova led by President Mircea Snegur paid a one-day visit to Romania. A first round of talks was held this morning at Cotroceni Palace. [passage omitted]

A second round of talks between Presidents Ion Iliescu and Mircea Snegur took place in the afternoon. At the end of these talks, the two presidents met with journalists at Cotroceni Palace. In his remarks, Mr. Ion Iliescu emphasized the political importance of the visit and the political will of the two countries to develop bilateral relations. In this respect, he said, an important role is played by the Joint Interministerial Commission, which has worked out a concrete program in this respect. The Romanian head of state said that today's meeting examined further cooperation measures in various fields, with emphasis on the need to set up a joint bank and a joint chamber of commerce as well as a Romanian cultural center in Chisinau. An important point of our talks, President Ion Iliescu said, was the activity of putting the final touches to the treaty between the two countries, which should not be the usual kind of document signed by Romania with other countries, but it should have another structure and resonance. Consequently, I suggested to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to give all due attention to preparing this document.

President Mircea Snegur told the journalists that he asked Romania, quote, to support us, as an older sister, in international bodies and in solving the great problems with which we are confronted, such as the conflict in the Dniester region, the situation of the Gagauz population, and the Ilascu trial. Referring to the economic ties between Romania and the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Mircea Snegur said that they should be mutually advantageous. In this respect, he talked about Moldova's serious difficulties regarding its economic relations with CIS and said that, if the situation demanded it, the Republic of Moldova will withdraw from that body. The economic adherence to CIS, Mr. Mircea Snegur said, is indispensable now, as long as Moldova cannot yet find massive economic support in the West.

At the joint news conference, reference was also made to Russia's opposition to the quadripartite mechanism Romania-Republic of Moldova-Ukraine-Russia, with President Mircea Snegur proposing a tripartite mechanism, without Russia. References were also made to the opposition of certain parliamentarians in Moscow to the ratification of the Treaty of Cooperation between Russia and the Republic of Moldova; the introduction of the national currency, the Moldovan leu, by the end of the year, and exiting the ruble's sphere of influence; and Moldova's interest in opening a port on the Danube, with Romanian assistance.



The delegation of the Republic of Moldova led by President Mircea Snegur left Romania at 1830 hours [1530 GMT]. They were seen off at Otopeni Airport by Romania's President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, and other officials.

#### **Nastase on 'Economic Community'**

*AU1707171593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1518 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/7/1993—Oliviu Gherman, president of Romania's Senate, and Adrian Nastase, speaker of Romania's Chamber of Deputies, had an interview on July 17, with Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, on a one-day visit in Romania.

After the interview Adrian Nastase told the press that "President Gherman and I, we have emphasized that the relations between our countries must develop, that we have react to certain facts, to certain developments in the space of the former Soviet Union. We think we have to be more creative, more active in this respect, in order to find formulas and solutions. We have suggested that the economic integration between Romania and the Republic of Moldova has to be fortified. ... We have had in view a future economic community formed by Romania and the Republic of Moldova, so that our ties in this essential field be strengthened."

Oliviu Gherman said, for his part: "We are optimistic and equally realistic, we are seeking for bridges apt to create a basis for a community, for the union of the two Romanian countries."

#### **Vacaroiu, Sangheli Praise Summit**

*AU1807172593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] Chisinau radio station broadcast this morning an interview by its correspondent Valentina Ursu with the prime ministers of Romania and the Republic of Moldova Messrs. Nicolae Vacaroiu and Andrei Sangheli, yesterday in Bucharest.

Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu praised the direct and concrete dialogue conducted with his Chisinau counterpart regarding the provisions of the protocol concluded last June by the interministerial commissions of the two countries. The provisions of that document, Mr. Vacaroiu said, were also praised by the two presidents at their meeting in Bucharest yesterday, since they cover a wide range of issues in the legislative, financial, banking, industrial, cultural, and medical spheres. He mentioned the setting up of a joint bank in Chisinau, the building of the Iasi-Ungheni-Chisinau railway, the continuation of studies regarding the port of Giurgiulesti, the opening of a new border crossing point in Cahul, and, with regard to industrial cooperation, the establishment of direct ties between economic units. Mr. Vacaroiu said that a new meeting with Mr. Sangheli might be held this year,

probably in the second part of next September, in Chisinau or Iasi, to reexamine the situation.

In his turn, the prime minister of the Republic of Moldova praised the results of the Bucharest meetings, emphasizing that they are positive, in principle. He dwelt on the need for certain corrections in the legislative sphere, without which cooperation is more difficult at this point. Mr. Sangheli said that a new meeting between the experts of the two countries will take place in a month or so, in order to discuss this issue, along with other financial and banking matters.

#### **Bessarabians Ask for Nastase's Support**

*AU1507132993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0944 GMT 15 Jul 93*

[Text] Cernauti, ROMPRES, 15/7/1993—The periodical PLAI ROMANESC [ROMANIAN LAND] published in Romanian in Cernauti reproduces a memoir addressed by the Romanians in Southern Bessarabia to Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies of Romania's Parliament, whereby, recalling the visit by Romanian parliamentarians to Ukraine, they ask for support in the settlement of national claims, including the simplification, by agreement with Ukrainian authorities, of the frontier crossing through the Izmil-Tulcea and Reni-Galati points, the expediting of the opening of Romania's Consular Office in Odessa, the securing of possibilities to receive the Bucharest and Chisinau TV programs in the Bessarabian and Dniestrian districts of the Odessa Region inhabited by Romanians, material support to build a Romanian Cultural Center in the town of Izmil.

The ROMPRES correspondent in the area says that a similar memoir had been handed over to Adrian Nastase by the Romanians in Northern Bucovina, when he was in Cernauti at head of a Romanian parliamentary delegation that visited Ukraine last spring.

#### **Vacaroiu on Possible Government Reshuffle**

*AU1607153993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1029 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/7/1993—"I have not considered yet a government reshuffle but it could start with the prime minister and not only with the members of the government," Romanian Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu said in an interview with the daily MERIDIAN. Reminding that he accepted the office "in an particularly difficult situation of the country," the prime minister showed that the present team was "the single one who had the courage to implement two measures which are difficult enough and affect the population, namely the elimination of subsidies and the instatement of the value added tax. Two measures which are not popular. If I was minding my chair and not considering, after a careful study, these actions as mandatory in order to recover from the crisis, I might have simply not taken them, the way the previous governments did. We have not delayed

the instatement of these measures because we regarded them as our duty because as long as we speak about reform, these measures are compulsory," the prime minister said.

"We want to be creditworthy in the external field. It is not possible to do nothing as concerns reform and still be trustworthy. Now, we will introduce a program of speeded-up restructuring and privatization. We do or we do not want to achieve the reform, that is the question," Prime Minister Vacaroiu said.

#### Statistics Board Issues Data on Consumption Costs

AU1507132393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0939 GMT 15 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/7/1993—According to data supplied by the National Statistical Board, daily ADEVARUL writes, the average monthly consumption expenditures per family in the first quarter of this year stood in Romania at 65,323 lei (one dollar = 780 lei), going up 277.5 per cent from the relevant period of last year. The highest rise was recorded with expenditures on food: over 3.3 times. The per family expenditures on services went up over 2.8 times. Higher rises were recorded with electricity more than 6.4 times, gas, district heating, water and other communal services over 3.6 times, medical care almost thrice.

In the structure of the average monthly expenditures on consumption per family—the same source shows—a spectacular rise was recorded with the expenditures on food and drinks, whose share within the total expenditures went up from 48.8 per cent to 58.6 per cent. Expenditures on culture, education and instruction accounted only for 5.6 per cent (by 2.7 per cent less) and those on medicines and medical care 1.3 per cent, keeping at the same level as in the first three months of last year.

Every family spent monthly on food by almost 17,000 lei more than in the first quarter of last year. However, statistics show, consumption was smaller. The average monthly buying per capita (in terms of physical units and not of value ones which are influenced by the inordinate price rises) dropped 15 per cent with milk and 3.1 per cent with meat and meat preparations.

#### Articles View National Currency's Devaluation

AU1507132593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1023 GMT 15 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/7/1993—The Romanian national currency is further devaluating, the press raising the question if it did not run out of control. The

fear is also expressed that the rapid nose diving of the leu is part of a scenario imposed on Romania by the International Monetary Fund.

"We are watching helplessly how the national currency is nose diving, nearing rapidly to a forecast made not long ago by an official of the Finance Ministry who advanced the idea of a further increase to 1,000 lei for one dollar until next December", reads an editorial in the daily CRONICA ROMANA. "At the beginning of this week the dollar has reached 780 lei, which means that during at least one month it jumped to almost 1,000 lei, if we take into consideration that in mid June it was 690 lei.

"Do you think it will jump over 1,000 in December? I think that it will happen much sooner, that is until next autumn, especially due to further wage increases for which justification had been and will always be the incredible price growth run out of control."

MERIDIAN adds: "In the opinion of the prime minister, inflation will be cut soon, because all incentives have been cut, except for the nefarious influence of the dollar, an influence apparently programmed or not was taken into consideration during negotiations with the International Monetary Fund. A proper scenario with pertinent economic studies on all processes within the transition would lead to the conclusion of an 'announced' devaluation".

#### Government Meeting Discusses Budget, Other Issues

AU1607203993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 16 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/7/1993—The Vacaroiu government analysed in a long meeting on July 16 the execution of the 1992 budget. Last year's deficit stood at 263 billion lei and the foreign public debt at about 2 billion dollars. The agenda included a report of the minister of agriculture and food on grain harvesting, as well as 43 draft laws, government ordinances and decisions, notes and reports.

The execution of last year's budget was much discussed on. A bill is going to be forwarded to parliament on the 1992 state revenues and spending. The bill was not finalised. The plenum asked that the results of the management of the economy by the Vacaroiu government be counted separately from those of the previous cabinets. Journalists were given a number of details. They were told that the 1992 revenues of the state budget represented 95 percent of those planned and the spending, 98.9 percent. The budget deficit was of 263 billion lei as against the forecast 216.7 billion lei. Profit taxes were 14 million lei lower than planned and the turnover tax 6 million lei lower. Romania's foreign public debt—long- and medium-term loans—stood at 2,009.4 million dollars, i.e. 924.3 million lei, and the domestic public debt at 481.6 billion lei.

**Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 19 July**  
**WA1907165793**

*The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.*

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**SUMMARY**

*Maslenica bridge reopens without incident; Croats, Serbs sign cease-fire agreement ... Croatian President Tudjman, Serbian President Milosevic praise talks in Geneva ... Bosnian President Izetbegovic says Muslims must make concessions in order to secure peace ... Bosnian Assembly chairman demands Conference on Yugoslavia Cochairman Owen be replaced ... Bosnian Serb leader denounces deployment of NATO planes in Italy ... Croats, Serbs block UNPROFOR aid convoys.*

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**POLITICAL**

**SERBS, CROATS SIGN AGREEMENT; BRIDGE OPENED** (Belgrade Radio, Zagreb TV, Zagreb Radio): Croats, Krajina Serbs sign cease-fire agreement allowing Croatian Government to reopen Maslenica bridge and Zadar airport without a Serbian attack. During ceremony opening the bridge, Croatian President Tudjman says Croats are "determined to restore their sovereignty in the entire territory of their homeland." (AU1607163193, LD1807202293, LD1807165693)

**MILOSEVIC, TUDJMAN PRAISE TALKS (TANJUG, Belgrade Radio)**: Serbian President Milosevic, Croatian President Tudjman release statement praising negotiations in Geneva and expressing agreement on a future set-up for Bosnia. The statement says speculations that Croatia and Serbia want to annex parts of Bosnia are "completely unfounded" but calls for the establishment of a "confederation" of three ethnic republics. Bosnian

President Izetbegovic reportedly to join talks "next week." (LD1707153993, AU1707150093)

**IZETBEGOVIC: MUSLIMS MUST MAKE CONCESSIONS**: In a statement to Sarajevo Radio, Bosnian President Izetbegovic says Muslims must make "major concessions" if they "want peace this year." Saying that "maybe" the Muslims could "postpone our greatest dilemma" by "waging war for one more year," Izetbegovic expresses concern for "the survival of the Muslim nation" if the fighting continues. (LD1807171493)

**DIPLOMATIC**

**BOSNIAN ASSEMBLY CHAIRMAN DEMANDS OWEN BE REPLACED** (Sarajevo Radio): Bosnian Assembly Chairman Lazovic sends letter to European Parliament urging that international mediator Lord Owen be replaced by a new official "who would be consistent and unbiased" in negotiations over Bosnia's future. Citing Owen's support for a Serbian-Croatian plan to divide Bosnian into three republics, the letter says that Bosnians are "indignant" over Owen's "inconsistent behavior." (LD1807180593)

**KARADZIC PROTESTS DEPLOYMENT OF NATO PLANES (TANJUG)**: Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic sends letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali protesting deployment of NATO planes in Italy. Karadzic says that the deployment offers "support to Germany's aspiration to realize its military aim" in the regions and that possible incidents in which the planes are involved "may be used as a pretext for NATO's armed intervention" against the Serbs. (LD1607172993)

**HUMANITARIAN AID**

**SERBS, CROATS BLOCK AID CONVOYS (AFP)**: UN Spokesman Kessler says Croats blocking relief convoys for Sarajevo and central Bosnia, denounces move as "sheer inhumanity." Kessler accuses Bosnian Serbs of "clearly using humanitarian aid as a weapon of war" after Serbs turned back a UN aid convoy for the seventh time outside of Gorazde. (AU1807142093)



**Izetbegovic: No Talks Unless Serbs Halt Attacks**

LD1807194393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1932  
GMT 18 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem Leader Alija Izetbegovic on Sunday said he would not go to Geneva for talks with international mediators unless Bosnian Serbs stopped offensive operations against Moslems.

"We cannot go while offensive actions are continuing in Bosnia, especially against Sarajevo," he told journalists following talks with Russian Envoy Vitaliy Churkin.

Izetbegovic, however, did not make his participation in the Geneva talks conditional on a cessation of fighting between Moslems and Croats in central Bosnia and the valley of the River Neretva in Herzegovina, which is currently the scene of the heaviest fighting in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At a two-day session of Bosnia's pro-Moslem rump presidency loyal to Izetbegovic held earlier this week, some members of the presidency asked that an order on ending hostilities be issued. However, the presidency decided to discuss the matter at its next session but did not set a date for it.

The Bosnian presidency does not include any representatives of the Bosnian Serb people.

The Serb side has so far observed all ceasefire agreements while the Moslem side, as a rule, has violated them.

The latest Serb army advance some 30 kilometres southeast of Sarajevo comes in response to continuous Moslem provocations, attacks and attempts by Moslem terrorist groups to infiltrate in the Serb-controlled territory in which the Serb side suffers casualties both among its fighters and the civilian population.

**Peace Requires 'Major Concessions'**

LD1807171493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Jul 93

[Statement by President Alija Izetbegovic to Sarajevo Radio on 18 July; place not given—recorded]

[Text] At this moment it seems that the two cannot go together. At least it seems that you will have to choose between peace and the integral civilian Bosnia as we had envisaged it. I would like to immediately stress that when I say integral Bosnia, I do not think that we should ever reconcile ourselves to the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina to such a degree that it cannot be stuck together again.

Of course, there is always a supposition that it will symbolically remain a Bosnia-Herzegovina, at least on paper, for a long time until some other integrational forces which do give peace a chance do their job; by this I primarily mean the economy, culture, and the common

natural need of the people to walk all over the world and therefore through Bosnia, to be friends, to marry and so on, to do business to work together. People will need medical attention, a sick man from Pale will go to a hospital in Sarajevo, why should he go to Belgrade or some other place?

A normal course of life may stick together what was broken with force and blows here. That is the principle dilemma: If we want peace this year, these days, if we want it in July, August, September, or October than we will have to reconcile ourselves to something which is difficult for us—to major concessions [words indistinct].

Maybe we could postpone our greatest dilemma by waging war for one more year, by clenching our teeth and surviving this winter somehow. This would bring our dream of Bosnia somewhat nearer. However, if we want peace now, then we cannot avoid concessions.

My intimate preoccupation is also the fate of the Muslim nation. I think that nobody can blame me for the fact that on some occasions I have to feel as a member of this nation. The fate of this nation is in jeopardy now. I think that the Serb and the Croat nations will somehow find a way out of this hell and that at least their bare survival is not threatened. I am afraid that the survival of the Muslim nation is threatened and that perhaps a wrong decision now could [words indistinct].

In this situation we have to be very cautious, particularly when it comes to well-intentioned people. Well-intentioned people can very often make mistakes because they have good intentions, because they can make wrong decisions. What I want to say is that good intentions are not enough. We will really need to think hard and to decide what to do to save the Muslim nation and to reduce the suffering and risks to which this nation is exposed.

**Voices Doubts About Federation**

LD1807103093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1000  
GMT 18 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic cast doubt on the proposal of the pro-Moslem Bosnian government on ordering Bosnia-Herzegovina as federal state.

As REUTERS reported Sunday, citing Moslem-controlled Sarajevo Radio, Izetbegovic said after a meeting of the pro-Moslem Presidency that while listening to the discussions he thought just how realistic his government's proposals were.

Izetbegovic, who urges a unitary Bosnia and whose term in office as presidency president had expired, said it seemed that a unitary Bosnia and peace in this former Yugoslav republic could not go together.

The Bosnian Serbs and Croats have proposed partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic states along

confederal principles. This proposal was upheld Saturday in Geneva by the presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, respectively.

In his statement, Izetbegovic made no indication as to whether the ten-member Bosnian Presidency, in which there are no legitimate representatives of Bosnian Serbs, would be likely to accept this plan, because it, too, had recently in principle come out in favor of a federal state.

#### Assesses Achievements

*AU1607171993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Nada Rajkovic report from Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina session in Sarajevo—recorded]

[Text] [Rajkovic] [Words indistinct] [President Alija] Izetbegovic, who at the very beginning pointed out the problem of individual Presidency members not attending the sessions. Izetbegovic explained why such behavior is being tolerated as follows:

[Izetbegovic] There are two reasons, [words indistinct] one is legal and the other political. Legal, because it is uncertain [word indistinct] what should be done if a member [words indistinct]. This (?change) that I have just mentioned [word indistinct] situation, (?they should) have resigned. They have left of their own accord and [word indistinct]. [Word indistinct] there are no resignations, and we feared that [passage indistinct] simply, [word indistinct] [Rajkovic] Regarding the results of the work of the Presidency, Mr. Izetbegovic said:

[Izetbegovic] We believe that the Presidency, within the limitations of its possibilities and capacities, has done the maximum [word indistinct] to preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, to [word indistinct] its political integrity, and naturally, in the role of the supreme [Army] commander, did everything possible to defend the territorial integrity as far as possible in (?the given) circumstances. Namely, it could have [words indistinct], will hear more about it from Delic [commander of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army], but [words indistinct] bodies in the role of the supreme command [words indistinct] we did everything that was necessary to organize the resistance, and to obtain arms. (?To a degree) were successful in it. (?We say) [words indistinct] 30 percent of the territory has been liberated. We are willing to [words indistinct] to retain this territory. I believe that [words indistinct] a year and a half is that we have preserved the political integrity, that we [words indistinct] a high number in the world despite all those who [word indistinct] who [words indistinct] recently, our [words indistinct] as one journalist has put it, the only [words indistinct] from the Balkans [words indistinct] of the parts that are controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government. Further, we have retained and [words indistinct].

[Rajkovic] About [word indistinct] characteristics of the work of the Presidency, Izetbegovic said:

[Izetbegovic] Judge the issue of [words indistinct] and not exactly the best functioning of the government self-critically, if need be. [Words indistinct] partially the mistakes in the personnel policy, partially [word indistinct]. (?You see), in the personnel policy, certain people were appointed to certain posts who were not sufficiently professionally qualified to do their work. Ours is a young state, we [words indistinct] we did not have [words indistinct] that we changed, however the changes were (?slow to take place). Here [words indistinct] major changes (?are needed), as I have said, six members to raise hands and vote for [word indistinct]. This can be achieved with great difficulty. (?When we changed) the government, [words indistinct]. Sometimes, we have been despairing, and we are despairing even now, (?in face of the weaknesses) [words indistinct] of the government, but [words indistinct] it is hard for this Presidency to [word indistinct] and reach a consensus on any change, as there are always [words indistinct] he is good and should not go, and so forth.

[Rajkovic] [Assembly Chairman] Miro Lazovic spoke of the work of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, which during these war months mostly worked (?in groups). (?The deputies) have been meeting in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Bihac. [Word indistinct] Bosnia-Herzegovina Deputy Prime Minister Hadzo Efendic [word indistinct]:

[Efendic] [Words indistinct] Mr. Simovic spend a short time in Prague and has now left for [passage indistinct]. The other deputy prime minister, Mr. Lagumdzija, has been injured and is in hospital. Regarding other ministers, Agriculture Minister Mr. Mirkovic—I have been informed that he [passage indistinct] apart from one telephone conversation I have had no contact with Mr. Mirkovic. Defense Minister Mr. Rajic [words indistinct] but I believe that he was not (?even sworn in). I have not met Finance Minister Mr. Bilic in the government, Minister of Religious Affairs Mr. Lukic (?neither). Nor is Minister [word indistinct] Mr. Raguz here. Foreign Minister Mr. Siljadic is here very seldom [words indistinct], therefore, I believe that he has recently attended only two or three sessions, while most of the time he is absent. Transportation Minister Mr. Jukic left on a business (?trip) [word indistinct] and for over 25 days [word indistinct], that is, he has not returned. I believe that he has problems in returning, just as the others who due to circumstances [passage indistinct].

This was also the case with Mr. (?Draganovic), who took advantage of an opportune moment to complete numerous tasks; however, he encountered problems when he wanted to return. [Words indistinct] (?during this period), the government mostly worked in accordance with the state of war statute. We held 32 [word indistinct], I cannot say exactly [word indistinct] I know that on average there were more than 20 items on the agenda of each session, which means that [words indistinct] the agenda debated for 90 days. I can say that the government mostly works in [word

indistinct] as it never happened that we would have lacked quorum, but [words indistinct] suitable people for particular departments.

[Rajkovic] The first one to take part in the debate was Miro Lasic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency:

[Lasic] In my opinion, the Presidency does not function as a collective body. The Presidency was [words indistinct] Croats being absent [word indistinct]. The Croats [words indistinct] because they could not do anything. (?I would like to say) that I came to participate in the work of these authorities, even though the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has looted my apartment. They also threw me out of the places that I (?stayed). After all this, (?I had absolutely no reason) to come to Sarajevo. I came at the invitation of the (?Bosnian) archbishop, who [words indistinct] ministry in the true sense of the word. The (?Foreign Ministry), besides (?Foreign Minister who [words indistinct] and that even to the point of nonsense. [Words indistinct], I would say, not informed their ministries about anything that was happening. [Words indistinct] minister is wondering around the world, (?there is nobody to appoint him or anyone to replace him. In a complex and multi-national state, the policy of (?foreign) affairs is a matter of the federal state, and for each appointment and replacement [passage indistinct] a consensus should exist within the state Presidency.

[Rajkovic] Muhamed Filipovic [leader of the Muslim Bosniak Organization] stressed that, bearing in mind the current [words indistinct] is not a political but a bureaucratic government and that [word indistinct] to the state institutions. Once we abandon [word indistinct] the country is doomed, Filipovic said. Because of all this, Filipovic demanded that the Assembly be convened, which would be in permanent (?session). The Presidency functions merely as a collective chief of the state [passage indistinct] clashes of the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and that the Presidency compiles a war strategy. Niaz Durakovic insists on [words indistinct] political goals of the Presidency. The debate continues [words indistinct] following the newscasts.

#### **Discusses Presidency's Functions**

AU1607120893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 16 Jul 93

[Report by Nada Rajkovic]

[Text] The expanded session of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina is discussing the functioning of the state institutions. Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, spoke about the work of the Presidency. He stressed, among other things, that the Presidency was meeting in the incomplete form, without Fikret Abdic and Franjo Boras.

In the war, the Presidency [words indistinct], the chairman of the Assembly, the head of the government, and the commander of the armed forces, and, as such, is meeting in the (?function) of an assembly.

At this moment, [words indistinct] discuss why the absence of some members of the Presidency is being tolerated, Izetbegovic said, asking the representatives of the parliamentary parties to (?contribute) toward the (?settlement) of this issue. Izetbegovic stressed as the positive results of the work of the Presidency the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina has been preserved as a political entity, and that the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina enjoys a great reputation in the world. Despite war (?conditions), the democratic nature has been preserved.

Mr. Izetbegovic described (?minor problems) in the functioning of the authorities as a negative element in the work, which is partly the consequence of a poor cadre policy. This is partly done for objective reasons.

Miro Lazovic spoke about the work of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which, during the war months, mainly met at different places. The deputies met in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Bihac. With the understanding of UNPROFOR and certain parliamentary groups outside the country, we could have done much more, Lazovic said.

When one takes into account the fact that more than one half of the members of government are not attending the sessions, then it is not surprising that dissatisfaction with the work of the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been expressed. Deputy Prime Minister Hadzo Efendic stressed that, in the last three months since he has assumed the post, 32 sessions have been held, and that many acts and decisions have been adopted with the aim of making the living conditions of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina easier.

In the continuation of the Presidency session, the participants discussed the work of the state organs. The humanitarian and military situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the draft peace proposal, should be discussed by the end of the session.

#### **Karadzic: Bosnia Can Survive Only as Confederation**

LD1907115093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1108  
GMT 19 Jul 93

[“Pool” item]

[Text] Ozren, July 19 (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Herzegovina could survive only as a confederation of three sovereign states of Serbs, Moslems and Croats, says the leader of the Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic.

“Moslems should make haste to come to the conference table, where Serbs and Croats are already negotiating, because if they want to continue the fighting they might



end up without anything," Karadzic on Sunday evening told Radio-Ozren, one of the Bosnian Serbs' radio stations, commenting the agreement reached on Saturday in Geneva between the presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman.

Milosevic and Tudjman endorsed the Bosnian Serbs' and Croats' proposal on the partitioning of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic mini states arranged in a confederation. In the joint statement after the talks, both presidents opted for a confederal arrangement, because it was, as they said, the only way of reaching peace in the former Yugoslav republic where an ethnic war has been raging for 16 months.

The Bosnian Moslem government has not declared itself in favour of the Serb-Croat proposal, and their leader Alija Izetbegovic is boycotting the negotiations in Geneva.

Izetbegovic seemed to be approaching a confederal option, but Karadzic said that this was rather a result of the actual situation than Izetbegovic's wish.

The Bosnian Moslem leader on Sunday cast doubt on his own proposal and the proposal of the Moslem government on the arrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a federal unitary state, saying that it had slight chances for success. As it is known, this desire for a Moslem-dominated federal state of Bosnia-Herzegovina triggered the civil war in this former Yugoslav republic.

The Milosevic-Tudjman talks have definitely determined the fate of the future Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic assessed.

"If the Moslems would not want to form a confederation with us, the Serbs and Croats would probably round off their state entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, perhaps conclude a mutual confederal constitutional contract, or both go for independence," said Karadzic.

It could be assumed that the Bosnian Serbs and Croats would be good neighbours when they separated their states, "if not brothers and friends," assessed Karadzic and added that the Serb-Croat relations were markedly improving.

#### Comments on Izetbegovic's 'Turnabout'

LD1807231693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2202 GMT 18 Jul 93

[Text] [Dateline and sentence indistinct] Karadzic said that the Serbs and Croats were not enemies until 1918 when they entered a common state, adding that it can be presumed that the Serbs and Croats will be good neighbors, if not brothers and friends, when they separate their states. The president of the Serb republic said that the Croats have been correct towards the Serbs in central Bosnia. "They helped in the evacuation of the Serbs from central Bosnia and we also helped in evacuating their civilians," Karadzic said.

Karadzic said that the decision of the Republic of Serb Krajina to help in the opening of the Maslenica bridge was very important and that this agreement could be the turning point in our bilateral relations. He added that the Milosevic-Tudjman agreement has definitely determined the fate of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"If Bosnia wishes to survive it can only be a confederation of three sovereign states, and the Muslims should hurry to join the Serbs and Croats at the negotiating table. If they want to fight on then they will lose everything," Karadzic stressed.

Commenting on Izetbegovic's turnabout bringing him closer to the confederal option, Karadzic said: "I think that this was not what he wanted to do but I think that it was a realistic decision."

The president of the Serb republic pointed out that a confederation is the only way to peace, adding that "if the Muslims do not wish to enter a confederation with us, the Serbs and Croats will possibly define their state entities and maybe sign a bilateral confederal constitutional agreement or maybe not. Maybe both the Serbs and Croats will choose the road to independence," Karadzic said.

#### Comments on Islamic Roles

LD1707201893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1851 GMT 17 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—In a statement for SRNA today, Serb republic president Radovan Karadzic said that he believes that the peace conference on former Bosnia-Herzegovina "still firmly supports the Serb-Croat proposal on transformation of this former Yugoslav republic into a confederation of three national states." Speaking about the negotiations in Geneva, Karadzic said that they will probably be resumed next week and stressed that the presence of Arab interests and money are responsible for Europe's inconsistent policy towards Bosnia.

According to Karadzic, international efforts to preserve former Bosnia-Herzegovina as an integral state are caused by Arab and Islamic interests—particularly Iranian, Saudi Arabian, and Sudanese interests because these countries are politically closest to the Bosnian Muslim leadership. "The Serb side has its strategic goal and that is a Serb state within or outside a confederation," Karadzic said categorically. He also said "if a confederation is not successful the Serb republic will become independent and it is certain that there will be no such thing as a Bosnian federation."

According to the president of the Serb republic, it is in the interest of the U.S. and all European states excluding Germany to prevent the creation of an Islamic state in this region and to preserve the integrity of the Serb nation. "The key to peace in the Balkans is the resolution of the Serb-Croat conflict while the Muslims are trying to

use this conflict to gain control over entire Bosnia which would be an Islamic stronghold in that case," Karadzic said.

Commenting on the negotiating position of the Muslim side, he said that Muslim representatives do not have any negotiating position because "they do not know what they want except for their unrealistic desire to dominate all of Bosnia."

Finally Karadzic said that "the Muslim leadership does not have the courage to face the real situation and strive towards a realistic solution." Transformation of former Bosnia-Herzegovina into a confederation which would take into consideration, Karadzic stressed, "that Serbs and Croats will never allow Muslim Bosnia to become a catapult for a breakthrough of Islam into Europe." [sentence as received]

#### Protests Deployment of NATO Planes

LD1607172993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 16 Jul 93

[Text] Pale, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic, today sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Butrus-Ghali protesting against the announced deployment of NATO planes in Italy.

NATO planes and helicopters—as explained—are supposed to be engaged in providing aerial support to the forces charged with protecting "safe havens" in Bosnia.

"My government fears that possible incidents may be used as a pretext for NATO's armed intervention against my people," Karadzic said, recalling that Germans "have extensive experience in making use of such pretexts," and we can find glaring examples for this in Czechoslovakia and Poland in the fourth decade of this century. "This is a threat of war and a support to Germany's aspiration to realize its military aim, violating the UN Charter," stressed the president of the Serb Republic.

Karadzic also protested the UN Security Council decision to send Pakistani soldiers to Bosnia within the UN Protection Force.

"Pakistan is already involved in the Bosnian conflict. It is a country built on Islam...at the cost of several million lives. Pakistani soldiers will only strengthen the units of the Islamic jihad, which are part of President Izetbegovic's forces. This will only extend the fighting and thwart UN humanitarian efforts," said Karadzic.

"The UNSC will be directly responsible for bloodshed instigated by the deployment of Pakistani soldiers and NATO planes," said Karadzic in conclusion, adding that in that case, it would no longer be a question of preserving peace but of maintaining the atmosphere of war.

#### Presidency 'in Principle' Agrees To Attend Talks AU1707151093 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 17 Jul 93

[Text] The REUTER news agency reports that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency in principle agreed to the continuation of the Geneva negotiations about peace in this country. According to the reports of Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio, the 10-member Presidency is willing to go to Geneva if the Serbs halt the attacks on the Muslim enclaves, if a cease-fire takes place throughout the country, and if the situation in Sarajevo normalizes.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency in its statement also stresses that the international mediator Lord Owen should reconsider the Croatian-Serbian proposal for the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic states. Namely, the Sarajevo authorities maintain that the draft agreement is totally unacceptable to the Muslims.

#### Presidency Session Announces Personnel Changes LD1807212093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Jul 93

[Text] A session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, chaired by President Alija Izetbegovic, was held today. The Presidency discussed and passed a number of legal acts. It also discussed and decided on a number of personnel changes. Nerkez Arifhodzic was appointed ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Tunisia. Vladimir Bilic was appointed chief editor of Bosnia-Herzegovina radio and television.

The Presidency also reviewed military personnel changes. Vahid Karavelic was appointed commander of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, replacing Mustafa Hajrlahovic-Talijan. Alija Ismet was appointed chief of staff of the 1st Corps. Jusuf [word indistinct] was appointed head of security of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, replacing Fikret Muslimovic, who was appointed adviser to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

#### Parliament President Suggests Owen Be Replaced LD1807180593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 93

[Text] Miro Lazovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, has sent a letter to European Parliament President Egon Klepsch expressing pleasure over the news that the European Parliament asked Lord David Owen to return to the mandate entrusted to him by the European Community in his mediatory mission. Among other things the letter says that the Bosnia-Herzegovina people are indignant over the inconsistent behavior of Lord Owen who has become a sponsor of the Croatian and Serbian presidents' intentions to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic states.

The rejection of such a proposal by the European Parliament encouraged the Bosnia-Herzegovina people to persist in its struggle.

If Lord David Owen is reluctant or unable to work in accordance with directives of the EC bodies, our opinion is that the most honest solution would be the replacement of Lord Owen with a new official who would be consistent and unbiased in implementing stands and decisions of the world community regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina, the letter by Miro Lazovic to the European Parliament says.

#### **Prime Minister Lukic Views Serb, Muslim Goals**

*AU1607130193 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 93 p 5*

[Interview with Vladimir Lukic, prime minister of the Serbian Republic, by Stevan Risovic; place and date not given: "Confederation—a Gift to the Muslims"]

[Excerpts] The Muslim side is trying to avoid Geneva at all costs, as the Serb-Croat proposal on the division of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic state-forming units does not suit Alija Izetbegovic and his sympathizers. The leader of the Bosnian Muslims is still hoping that he will either wheedle military intervention out of the international community, or that the UN Security Council will at least partly lift the arms embargo on the Muslims, so that he could somehow preserve the unitary, though already divided Bosnia.

We discussed this topic and other topical issues that the Government of the Serbian Republic has been engaged in with Vladimir Lukic, its prime minister.

#### **Izetbegovic Has Opted for War**

[Risovic] How would you assess the past three rounds of the Geneva talks on a peaceful solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Lukic] It is necessary to keep the peace process alive, though the Muslim side is trying to smother it. Alija Izetbegovic has, with the support of the United States and Germany more than the others, mined the Lisbon conference, then the London one, the Geneva one.... To put it simply, he is not in favor of negotiations, of peace, but has instead opted for war, so as to achieve the ultimate goal—the creation of a Muslim *jamahiriyyah* on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, that is, the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Initially he was strongly supported by the West, which intended, through an incredible anti-Serb propaganda and the express recognition of sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina, to completely break the Serb people, who were to remain a minority in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Serbia would most likely, with time, be reduced to the Belgrade pashadom [county under the jurisdiction of a pasha, a man of high rank or office in the Turkish Empire], as Kosovo, Sandzak, and Vojvodina, or part of Vojvodina, would break off in accordance with the already tested formula

and the secessionist plan. The Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina have spoiled the plans of the West, better said of Germany, which was striving toward Slovenia and Croatia seceding from Yugoslavia, and later Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia becoming independent. If it had not been for the determination of the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, who took up arms with the intention to preserve their distinctiveness and their homes, we would probably not have the Serbian Republic today, the state that has its own legitimate civilian and military state authorities, its own Constitution, its flag, coat of arms, national anthem....

[Risovic] In Geneva the Serbs and the Croats presented a common proposal for the confederal organization of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Izetbegovic said yesterday that confederation would be acceptable to them only if it is imposed or if the alternative is an endless war. What does that mean?

[Lukic] I consider even the offered confederalization of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina a great gift to the Muslims, since they have never had a state of their own. How could they, when they are actually Serbs and Croats of the Muslim religion, as they used to proclaim themselves until 1974. In fact, they were recognized as a nation by the 1974 Constitution, and now they should even be given a state. Well, let them have it, but if they drag out the negotiations further, if they keep stressing the war option, why beg them. The Muslims have been offered too much, and if they continue the war, they will get nothing and the former Bosnia-Herzegovina could be divided in two parts. In any case, I think the peace process should be given preference.

#### **The Joint National Program**

[Risovic] You have pointed out many times that the Serbs have paid a high price for their benevolence and credulity.

[Lukic] The Serbs had created Yugoslavia twice, both times as winners, the Yugoslavia that nobody else wanted. Even now Yugoslavia is, for what it is, holding together only thanks to the Serbs. The Serbs have the right to their state, as the French have France, the Germans Germany, the Polish Poland.... I think a national program should be put together for the Serb people, around which the interests of all Serbs would be gathered. There was an instance of the all-Serbian assembly being convoked at the wrong time, the intention being to "push through" the Vance-Owen plan. It would be very useful for the Serb people to hold this session as soon as possible, on the condition that the agenda be defined and that the national program of the Serb people be the main item on the agenda, since we can survive in these areas only if we are united.

[Risovic] It was difficult to institute the state. The Serbian Republic is virtually instituted by now, but there are many things regarding the internal organization of a law-governed state that are not working.



[Lukic] I agree with your assessment. However, the process of instituting a state is a long one, and it takes time and patience, but also wise, clear heads. You cannot create and accomplish everything through war, nor should the war tension be transferred from the front lines into the towns and villages. We have many problems in the functioning of the civilian authorities in specific areas that are still in the immediate war surroundings or exposed to the war activities. We are putting maximum effort into bringing the law-governed state into being, though we are aware of the fact that the battle for the institution of such a state will last. Each war, and so this one, brings along the inevitable—war profiteering, plundering, crime. Our police has greatly contributed toward preventing genocide over the Serb people. Many members of the police forces have given their lives in defending the Serbian Republic. However, I must also say that some individuals have done injustice to the uniform of the members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Army of the Serbian Republic. The Serb soldier has always been just with the captured enemy, humane with helpless invalids. The members of the Army of the Serbian Republic have proved that in this war, saving tens of thousands of Croat refugees from the Lasva valley and the valley of the Usora River from sure death. All the captured members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] have been released, and captured soldiers of the so-called army of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina have been exchanged for captured Serb fighters whenever possible, even for captured Serb civilians. The Serbian Republic will strive to protect each of its citizens, regardless of their religion, nationality or party affiliation, through the power of all its institutions, primarily the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the prosecutor's office and the courts. Those who have tarnished the reputation of the Serb soldier, who were into profiteering while Serb sons were bleeding on the battlefields, will have to answer for it. [passage omitted]

[Box, p 5]

#### **The Drina River Will Not Be the Border**

For a while, said Lukic, it seemed as though the Serb leadership would be divided on this and that side of the Drina. However, fortunately for us and unfortunately for those who were hoping for something like that, it did not happen. Rest assured, there will be no border on the Drina River in the near future, as it would be untenable and unnecessary to the Serb people. As regards the relations between the Serbian Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, they are very, very good.

#### **Croats Allegedly Close Relief Routes to Sarajevo** *AU1807142093 Paris AFP in English 1358 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[By Hugh Nevill]

[Text] Sarajevo, July 18 (AFP)—The gates to the main relief route to central Bosnia and Sarajevo clanged shut

Sunday [18 July], with Bosnian Croats blocking the passage of convoys through the southern Croatian town of Metkovic, the United Nations reported.

Spokesman Peter Kessler slammed the move as obstructionism and "sheer inhumanity to man."

Kessler, the Sarajevo spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said the Croats were dissatisfied with implementation of an agreement reached with Bosnian government representatives last weekend on freeing up movement of relief convoys.

He pointed out that part of the aid would have gone to the tens of thousands of Croat civilians displaced by fighting in central Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croats in southern Bosnia have been fighting increasingly bitter battles with the mainly-Moslem Bosnian Army for control of the southern city of Mostar, capital of the self-declared breakaway Bosnian Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna.

A relief convoy trying to get to the besieged eastern Moslem enclave of Gorazde was meanwhile forced to turn back Saturday for the seventh straight time, Kessler said, accusing the Bosnian Serbs also of "clearly using humanitarian aid as a weapon of war."

The spokesman said civilian Serbs—mostly women and children demonstrating for the release of prisoners—were blocking the convoys to Gorazde, but that "it is clear that the protests are orchestrated. People just don't jump out from behind trees at five in the morning as they did yesterday."

Aid flights which drop food and medicines over besieged enclaves were meanwhile halted for two days for maintenance, the Protection Force reported.

Kessler reported a flood of 400 to 500 Moslem refugees surging toward Mount Igman—looming over western Sarajevo—from the area around Trnovo, a town the Serbs captured from the mainly Moslem Bosnian Army on July 11 after heavy fighting.

He said some of the refugees were halting at villages and hamlets along the way, but that hundreds of them were arriving in the Sarajevo suburbs of Hrasnica and Butmir, at the foot of Mount Igman on the opposite side of the airport from central Sarajevo.

Bosnian Serb forces launched a major offensive Saturday to capture Mount Igman, advancing along the route from Trnovo and from the western outskirts of Sarajevo.

The fighting was continuing Sunday, with the Bosnian Army admitting that the Serbs were breaking through its defence lines.

Kessler said some 700 refugees had registered in Hrasnica and Butmir, but that the agency suspected that at least as many had not registred, raising the fear that

they would try to cross the runway into the city centre, with "disastrous" consequences.

People trying to cross the runway under cover of darkness come under constant fire from Serb snipers, and the French Foreign Legion patrols the airport at night in armoured cars equipped with searchlights, turning back all those it finds attempting to cross. The Legion is required to do this under its agreement to control the airport as neutral territory.

It is virtually the only entry point for the bare subsistence food keeping Sarajevans alive, with 12 or 13 relief planes landing each day, as almost all road convoys to the besieged capital are blocked.

Kessler said more than 100 of the UNHCR's relief trucks were idle, and that the agency was operating at less than half capacity in Bosnia as a whole.

### Special Russian Mediator Churkin Arrives in Sarajevo

LD1807131693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1244 GMT 18 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—Special Russian mediator for the former Yugoslavia Vitaliy Churkin arrived in Sarajevo on Sunday, according to Muslim-controlled Radio Sarajevo.

Shortly on arriving, Churkin met with Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic and members of the pro-Muslim Presidency, in which there are no legitimate representatives of the Bosnian Serbs.

After the talks, Churkin is expected to go to Kiseljak, near Sarajevo, to meet with representatives of Hercego-Bosna, the state community of the Bosnian Croats.

Churkin on Friday arrived in Croatia's capital of Zagreb, where he conferred with Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman. He on Saturday visited Knin, the political centre of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), where he held talks with RSK representatives.

### Holds News Conference With Izetbegovic

LD1807151993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Jul 93

[Text] Vitaliy Churkin arrived in Sarajevo this morning where he had talks with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, about the Geneva negotiations and humanitarian problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sarajevo. A report by Senada Cumrovic:

[Cumrovic] I have been encouraged by the news that the president [Izetbegovic] is in principle prepared to enter a fresh round of negotiations with other warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vitaliy Churkin said, while about

[words indistinct] as the condition for negotiations, the Russian deputy foreign minister says:

[Begin recording; Churkin in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] [Words indistinct] I am planning to do everything I can to achieve both goals: the cessation of hostilities and the resumption of negotiations. Tomorrow morning I am leaving for Belgrade, and even before that visit I will do everything in my power to try to achieve these goals. [end recording]

Another issue which worries Mr. Churkin, and particularly citizens of Sarajevo, is the gas supply to the city which comes from Russia.

[Begin Churkin recording] You know that Russia has for a long time been supplying Sarajevo with gas [words indistinct] international aid to Sarajevo because this is mostly not paid to us. We were told that only a small quantity of this gas arrives in Sarajevo, hence the Sarajevo government recently told us that it did not wish to continue to receive gas supplies, therefore the gas supply was switched off at the Hungarian border. [Words indistinct] to President Izetbegovic that the easiest solution is to observe the international [word indistinct] in order to ascertain that all gas that leaves Russia reaches its destination, Sarajevo. I am very pleased that President Izetbegovic put forward this proposal. [end recording]

Asked what he expected from future talks in Geneva, Vitaliy Churkin said:

[Begin Churkin recording] Everybody must understand that (?this proposal) is not based on war. The war is [word indistinct] and nobody can change this fact, but we believe that the agreement must be based on honesty, on a political agreement between the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our opinion is that agreement is possible, that it can be achieved [passage indistinct] which must be fully observed, and I am very pleased that President Izetbegovic believes that negotiations can lead to a political solution if all sides show a political will for a compromise. [end recording]

President Alija Izetbegovic said about the negotiations:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] In negotiations which are to be held, I really said that under the conditions as they are now we would not be prepared to take part. However, we are hoping that the offensive actions, particularly [word indistinct], would enable our delegation to go to (?Geneva). I said that I have more doubts about the possibility of the resumption of negotiations than about results of the negotiations if they take place. Namely, [words indistinct] but at this moment I do not see any possibility (?to travel) today or tomorrow. However, as I said, if we met at the negotiating table I believe that we would achieve an agreement. I am convinced that agreement will be found, despite the fact that [words indistinct]. We believe in the (?important stand) of Russia, personally in Mr. Churkin; he is to go to Belgrade tomorrow. We believe that he will manage to persuade the opposing side that [passage indistinct].

**Fighting in Maglaj, Brcko Continues**  
*AU1907103893*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 19 July carries in its regular 5-minute newscast two reports on the situation in Maglaj and Brcko.

Hajrudin Sermic reports from Maglaj that "there was no peace on this front overnight. The chetnik-ustasha forces shelled the positions of our fighters in Bijela Ploca and Lijesnica. The united enemy used 82-mm mortars, Praga, and small arms in the attacks. They tried infiltrating larger reconnaissance-sabotage groups in several places into the free territory, but our fighters were not to be taken by surprise and the enemy was fought back to his initial positions."

In his report from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor is continuing to shell the defense lines and civilian targets on the free territory of Brcko. Last night, the defense positions came under attack from mortars, antiaircraft and recoilless guns, and small arms. The heaviest mortar attack, supported by a Bofors from Grbavica, was launched last night at approximately 2200 [2000 GMT] at Brod, Brodusa, Stari Rasadnik, and Suljagic Sokak. The aggressor launched a simultaneous attack on the Brod-Brka road. The defenders responded adequately and destroyed the chetnik Bofors in Grbavica at 2230 with a precise shot. The chetnik long-range artillery then started its destructive binge against the civilian targets on the free territory. The aggressor used 155-mm howitzers from the stronghold in Pelagicevo against the region (?Lodzici) and Brka. Roads were again targeted." He says that "the chetniks have moved the tanks from Grbavica to Sekulici and Ivakovici. A long convoy of the aggressor's trucks was spotted on the same route. During the night, the chetniks concentrated armored-mechanized vehicles in front of our positions on the town part of the front."

**Bugojno in Flames, Many Dead; Fighting Continues**

*LD1907111693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1047 GMT 19 Jul 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—Moslem Forces launched a general attack on Bugojno and the surrounding villages in central Bosnia-Herzegovina at 04:00 hrs local time (02:00 GMT) on Monday, Zagreb-based Croatian Radio reported.

The entire region is in flames, the radio said. There are dead and wounded on both sides, and all streets in Bugojno and roads through the surrounding villages are completely blocked.

Moslem-controlled Radio Sarajevo confirmed that heavy fighting is underway between Bosnian Croats and Moslems in the region of Bugojno, some 50km west of Sarajevo.

Bosnian Serb military sources have also confirmed this. The sources said that the shelling which began on Sunday evening can be heard in Srbobran (former Gonji Vakuf), where they are located, some 10 km northwest of Bugojno. They confirmed that the region of Bugojno is in flames.

It seems that the attack on Bugojno is the beginning of the long-announced final battle for this region between Moslems and Croats, formerly allies against Serbs in the 16-month ethnic and civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Moslem-Croat conflict escalated two months ago with heavy clashes for territories with mixed populations in central Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croatian Radio also reported that Moslem-Croat fighting continued on Sunday evening south of Mostar in central Herzegovina with Moslem infantry assaults on the banks of the Buna.

Meanwhile, there were strong artillery duels. The Croatian Radio said that Moslem cannon units caused fires on the hill near Mostar with incendiary shells. Small and heavy arms fire was heard occasionally in Mostar, Croatian Radio said.

**'All-Out' Muslim Attack**

*LD1907081893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 19 Jul 93*

[Text] An all-out Muslim attack on Bugojno began at about 0400 this morning. Army barracks, medical aid centers and all Croatian places in this municipality came under fire. The well-prepared Bugojno Croatian Defense Council [HVO] responded to the attack. Fighting is under way with both sides using all available men and equipment. As yet there is no information on possible casualties.

**Street Clashes Reported**

*LD1807155293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Last night fighting between the Muslim army and the Croat Defense Council [HVO] broke out in Bugojno, a town previously targeted by Serb artillery. Three HVO members and five Muslim soldiers were killed in street clashes. Many were wounded and imprisoned on both sides. The streets of Bugojno are completely blocked by Muslim and HVO barricades. Attempts to end the clashes through negotiations today did not prove successful. [passage omitted]



**Mladic Deploys 15,000 on Trnovo-Igman Front**  
*AU1907093993*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 19 July carries in its regular 13-minute newscast several reports on fighting in the republic.

An unidentified correspondent reports from Zavidovici that "during the night, the aggressor's activities ceased against the town sometime but still continued elsewhere. Over 40 projectiles from recoilless guns and 60 and 82-mm mortars landed on the defense lines of Dubravice, with constant fire from heavy machine guns using fragmentation ammunition. The chetniks used Bofors and occasionally 120-mm mortars in Hajradjevici. Convoys of the aggressor's motorized-armored combat vehicles have been reported crossing the pontoon bridge [word indistinct] and moving in the direction of the Maglaj and Zavidovici fronts."

Another unidentified correspondent reports from Hadzici that "fierce infantry fighting is under way on Golo Brdo and the area above Hadzici. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is making every effort to recapture the lost positions. Artillery and infantry attacks against our positions alternate as part of the usual chetnik strategy. This is particularly evident on the other direction of attack, from the Trnovo valley—that is, from the village of Dejici toward Mt. Igman. The defense lines, however, are stable."

OSLOBODJENJE correspondent Sefko Hodzic reports from Mt. Igman that "the enemy offensive on Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica has continued this morning, and our fighters have already repelled an attack in (?Roskotak). The intensity of the fighting, however, has let up somewhat this morning. Yesterday will be marked in gold in this tremendous, for our country perhaps crucial, Igman war epic. In a counterattack that took place last night and lasted no longer than 15 minutes, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army fighters eliminated approximately 70 chetniks on one part of the front alone. They heavily damaged one tank and destroyed a transporter and captured several chetniks and military hardware. One of the commanders of the Sixth Corps who commanded this operation said that at least 20 chetniks remained dead on an area of some 30 square meters. However, this victory, although brilliant, is only one of many, as for days now the fighters of our army have been repelling all the chetniks attacks that come in waves. Every day the enemy artillery—estimates show there are approximately 120 heavy artillery pieces on Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica—pounds the wider region of the two mountains. This is followed by attacks from tanks, Praga, and transporters. According to the estimates, there are some 60 pieces of those here. The chetniks launch infantry attacks from three directions: From Mt. Treskavica, (?Humovska Zaravan), particularly the village of (?Bujcici), and from the direction of Hadzici. Estimates reveal that the war criminal Ratko Mladic, who is in charge of this offensive, has deployed approximately

15,000 chetniks on the Trnovo-Igman front. According to the manner of the chetnik attacks, it is estimated here that they are either drunk or drugged. All of the captured chetniks kept here—and I have spoken to some of them—were heavily under the influence of alcohol. Despite the Security Council's resolution on the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina, the chetniks have been using helicopters daily for reconnaissance, guiding the artillery and transporting the chetniks. For the first time probably since the aggression against our country began, the chetniks have been using in this offensive the helicopters for firing Maljutka [word indistinct]. NATO planes keep flying over this area, and the chetniks are taking advantage of the tumultuous noise to fire missiles from multiple rocket launchers and howitzers." He says that "so far on this front, our fighters have killed over 500 chetniks, destroyed or damaged five tanks, three transporters, and several vehicles used to transport the chetniks."

**Muslims Allege Serbs Using Poison Gas**

*LD1707215793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Report by correspondent Edin Subasic]

[Excerpt] [Subasic] Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers are currently offering decisive resistance at the Igman front in order to stop an offensive launched by strong chetnik formations. Hand-to-hand combat is taking place on some hills; positions of our forces came under showers of enemy shells along the entire defense line. The situation is particularly dramatic on the Trnovo-Igman part of the front. More than 2,000 large caliber shells were fired toward our forces today and this was followed by tank and infantry actions. The aggressor is demonstrating unprecedented brutality, razing everything in its way. At the same time the enemy launched a tank attack from the direction of Hadzici. The goal is to cut the roads leading to Igman and all available weapons are being used, even poison gases on several occasions.

Fierce fighting is still in progress on this part of the front near Hadzici. Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units are firmly in control of their lines despite the aggressor's fierce attack. Several attacks have been repelled so far and the enemy suffered losses in manpower and military equipment. However, the enemy is bringing in fresh units and continuing with the attacks. The situation is difficult but Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers are determined to repel today's and future chetnik attacks and save Igman.

**Muslims Continue 'Major Offensive' Against Serbs**

*LD1807195293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1946 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem troops stationed on Mt. Igman near Sarajevo on Sunday continued a major offensive against Bosnian Serbs

launched several days ago. The Serb-controlled town of Doboj in northern Bosnia was also the target of Moslem artillery attacks.

TANJUG learns at the Bosnian Serb Army headquarters that Moslem units on Mt. Ignan, reinforced with fresh troops from central Bosnia, used all available artillery weapons to attack Serb positions on Saturday night and Sunday.

With this offensive, the Moslems are trying at all cost to cut off the Serb-controlled part of Herzegovina from the Mt. Romanija area near Sarajevo and thus break the territorial integrity of the Bosnian Serb Republic, Bosnian Serb military sources say. The Serb forces are firmly holding their positions and responding powerfully and precisely to every attack, the sources add.

The Bosnian Serb Republic was formed in 1992 in predominantly Serb-populated territories in what was formerly the central Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Regardless of the fierce attacks on Serb positions in the Sarajevo area, Moslems who are fighting Croats in the Stolac area in Herzegovina are sending out dramatic appeals to the Serb side and seeking help from the Bosnian Serb Army.

Commenting on these and similar appeals, Chief of the General Staff of the Bosnian Serb Army Major-General Manojlo Milovanovic told TANJUG that the Bosnian Serb Army was waging a war until final liberation of the Serb people. It is easy to conclude from this what is our attitude towards all those who ask military help from us, he added.

Early on Sunday afternoon, Moslems started a mortar attack on Doboj. Bosnian Serb military sources say an all-out alert was sounded at about 1400 local time (1200 GMT) in the town whose residents are in shelters.

On Sunday morning, Moslems continued their attacks on Serb positions around Bihac in western Bosnia but the attacks were of somewhat lesser intensity than on Saturday, the sources say and add that Bosnian Serb forces are firmly holding their defence lines and responding only if absolutely necessary.

A Moslem sabotage team raided the village of Humsko near Foca in eastern Bosnia in the night between Saturday and Sunday and burned down 10 Serb houses. There were no casualties because all villagers fled before the attack. After the Serb forces intervened, the terrorists fled in panic.

**Muslims Attack Serb Positions in North, East**  
*LD1807113593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1042 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] Doboj, July 18 (TANJUG)—The Army of Bosnian Moslems attacked in the night of Saturday-Sunday Serb positions in northern and eastern Bosnia,

but the Serb fighters retained all their positions, reported TANJUG correspondents in Brcko, Doboj and Trebinje, citing Serb military sources.

Moslem formations were continuing attacks on Serb positions and settlements in the battle zone of the broader Doboj area (northern Bosnia), re-grouping and trying to infiltrate saboteur groups, Serb military sources said Sunday.

Moslem forces mounted a mortar attack on the city of Doboj and its suburbs from the direction of Tesanj (northern Bosnia) in the night of Saturday-Sunday. The Serb defense returned fire after which the Moslem attacks ceased.

Moslem attempts to infiltrate larger saboteur groups or break through the Serb defense lines by bringing in fresh forces on the Maglaj battle front have failed. Their aim was to effect joining with the Moslem forces from Zavidovici (central Bosnia). The Serb fighters thwarted these attempts too and inflicted heavy losses in men and equipment on the Moslems.

Sunday began with quiet around Brcko (northern Bosnia) following heavy fighting throughout the preceding night along the entire front line.

A Moslem attack on Saturday at 11 p.m. six kilometers south of Brcko was especially strong. Anti-aircraft and recoilless guns were used in the two-hour synchronized action.

Moslem infantry attempted for the umpteenth time to break through the Brcko defense line and reach Sava River. The Army of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina repelled the attack, not allowing any change of the front line, as one Serb combatant was wounded, the Serb military sources said.

**Muslims Continue Attacks on Serb Positions in Doboj**

*LD1907120793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1146 GMT 19 Jul 93*

[Text] oboj, July 19 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces on Monday fired at Bosnian Serb positions and villages in the wider region of Doboj in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina from small arms and mortars, Bosnian Serb military sources said.

Moslems fired at Doboj and its suburbs from 82mm and 120mm calibre mortars from their stronghold in neighbouring Tesanj in the night between Sunday and Monday, the sources said, adding that no-one was killed in these attacks.

The Bosnian Serb army returned strong fire and killed many of the attackers and destroyed much of their materiel.

A fierce ethnic war between local Serbs, Croats and Moslems has been raging in Bosnia-Herzegovina for 16 months.

The Serb sources said that Moslems have stepped up infantry attacks in the valley of the Bosna from Maglaj to Doboj, and were attacking Serb villages on the right bank from their strongholds on the left bank of the Bosna.

Around Trebava, also in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina, Moslem forces also fired at Bosnian Serb military positions, and shelled civilian targets in the Serb town of Rosici with tank grenades and 128mm calibre shells from rocket launchers.

#### **Chetniks Penetrate Muslim Defense Lines**

*LD1807152593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] The press center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has reported that chetniks with regrouped forces yesterday attacked and penetrated our defense lines along the Velebici-Dobre and Vode-Siljak line on the [word indistinct] front. Using part of their forces [words indistinct] on Golo Brdo and took it. The army report says that [words indistinct] the enemy carried out a helicopter assault on Mount Treskavica in the direction of Ljuta.

#### **Fighting Continues Between Bosnian Croats, Muslims**

*LD1807144793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1347 GMT 18 Jul 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—Artillery of Bosnian Croats (HVO) fired Sunday on Zavidovici, while infantry attacked Dubravica, on the outskirts of this town in central Bosnia, the Moslem-controlled Sarajevo Radio reported.

The HVO forces, the same source said, were opening artillery fire also on the Jablanica hydro electric power plant, northern Herzegovina, as well as on the nearby Moslem villages.

Bosnian Moslems and Croats, one-time allies against Bosnian Serbs, clashed since the beginning of this year in the territories with mixed Croat-Moslem population, especially in central Bosnia and northern Herzegovina.

Three persons were wounded from Croatian snipers, who shot on whatever moved, in downtown Konjic, a city in northern Herzegovina, the Sarajevo Radio said.

The radio set out that the Croatian units around Fojnica were re-grouping as part of the preparations to re-capture this central Bosnian town which Moslems seized two days ago.

UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] representative Peter Kessler warned Sunday, according the Sarajevo Radio, that the UNHCR convoys

were still not permitted to pass through the HVO-controlled territories despite the latest agreement signed in the Croatian Adriatic town of Makarska.

The Croatian radio reported artillery duels in the suburban sections to the north and south of Mostar, while the Croatian and the Moslem infantry forces clashed in the city itself.

Also, UNPROFOR in Sarajevo confirmed heavy fighting was reported between the Moslems and the Croats Sunday in the area between Mostar and Capljina, a city on the Neretva River south of Mostar. The Croatian forces were still denying UNPROFOR observers access to this area.

#### **Croats, Muslims Continue To Battle in Mostar**

##### **HVO Reports 200 Muslims Killed**

*LD1707205293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1928 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] Belgrade, July 17 (TANJUG)—Croat forces (HVO) [Croatian Defense Council] killed over 200 Moslem troops and destroyed tens of Moslem army bunkers in the latest clashes on the battle front south of Mostar in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatian radio on Saturday quoted HVO sources as saying.

Traces of heavy several-day fighting can be observed everywhere in the southern part of Mostar and many facilities in the industrial zone are either on fire or completely destroyed, reported Bosnian Serb Army sources.

Croat and Moslem military sources give contradictory reports about the fighting in the area of Mostar or decline to announce the names of the seized strategic positions so that it is not clear where the line of contact between the two sides has been moved in the southern part of the town.

The HVO and the Moslem army continued fighting in the area of Zepce, central Bosnia, Croatian radio said today adding that HVO forces were advancing on the section of the battle front near Zenica.

Moslem-controlled Sarajevo radio said on Friday that HVO forces held imprisoned thousands of Moslem civilians in Zepce.

The group includes mostly women, children and men over 60 while men between 17 and 60 are sent as forced labour to dig trenches on the front lines and do other work, said the radio.

Croats and Moslems, who had fought together against Bosnian Serbs at the beginning of the Bosnian civil, religious and ethnic war, have been locked in a bloody conflict over territories with mixed population over the past few months.



**Sarajevo Radio Reports 2 Killed**

*LD1 07214493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] In its latest report Mostar press center said that Mostar and its suburbs were on fire again and that fierce fighting between Bosnia-Herzegovina army and Croat Defense Council forces were continuing. According to the same source two Bosnian army soldiers were killed in today's clashes. One Bosnian soldier and two civilians were also wounded.

**10,000 Muslim Civilians Reportedly Imprisoned**

*LD1707213893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Vice President Hadzo Efendic received Philippe Lazarini, representative of the International Red Cross. On this occasion Efendic asked his guest for urgent intervention by his humanitarian organization to liberate more than 10,000 Muslim civilians imprisoned in make-shift prison camps near Mostar, Capljina, and Stolac. Efendic informed Lazarini that Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units are not allowing free passage to convoys carrying humanitarian aid through the areas they control despite the agreement signed by the two sides in Makarska seven days ago.

Expressing his profound concern over the events in Herzegovina and central Bosnia and stressing that the use of civilians for military and political goals is unacceptable, Lazarini said that the International Red Cross delegation in Medjugorje has already been instructed to try to reach prison camps in Herzegovina as soon as possible to help these innocent and unfortunate people. Lazarini informed Efendic that the International Red Cross has established its permanent mission in the besieged town of Gorazde.

**Heavy Fighting Reported South of Mostar**

*LD1807142193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in  
Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes for Croatian Radio]

[Excerpts] Mostar was relatively quiet until early afternoon, when Muslim forces launched a fierce infantry attack on the Mostar-Capljina road at the town's southern exit, more precisely, at the crossroads toward Capljina and Nevesinje. The Croatian Defense Council [HVO] halted this infantry breakthrough, after which the Muslims launched an artillery attack. Heavy artillery duels are being fought at present south of Mostar. [passage omitted]

Muslim forces continued to attack HVO positions in the Novi Travnik area this morning. Three people were wounded in villages near Novi Travnik, and apart from the damage no other consequences of the attack were reported.

No major operations were reported in Kiseljak and Kresevo today. In Fojnica the Muslim Army continued to burn houses and shops.

**HVO Disarms Muslim Fighters in Tomislavgrad**

*AU1607183293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] The Press Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has learned from a large number of forcibly exiled people from Tomislavgrad that all members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of the Muslim nationality have been disarmed. The soldiers were lined up with their full military equipment, and then the Muslims were disarmed and taken to prison. Simultaneously, a real ethnic cleansing of the town and its surroundings is under way. Muslims' houses are being looted, while the population is being taken to prisons in Grude and Ljubuski.

**TANJUG Reports Disarming**

*LD1607162593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in  
Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Banjaluka, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—A Serb military source in Banjaluka today announced that "the action of disarming Muslims in the Tomislavgrad (Duvno) area is completed."

The same source added that the Muslims in Tomislavgrad surrendered all their arms without resistance. It also claimed that preparations were under way to disarm and discharge all Muslims in the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], even those who have been with Croat units since the beginning of the war.

HVO leaders are expecting this operation—just like the previous one—to be conducted peacefully because the Muslims consider their participation in any further combat pointless. At the same time, Croats constitute a vast majority in Tomislavgrad and have been firmly in power there since the beginning of the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**Radio Reports Muslim Takeover of Fojnica**

*LD1607174593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in  
Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] Zdenko Vranjes reporting for Croatian radio: [passage omitted]

After the withdrawal last night of the HVO fighters from the positions around Malkoc, the Muslim forces took the whole of Fojnica during the hours of the morning. [passage omitted]

**UNPROFOR Probe Blames Serbs for Water-Line Massacre**

*AU1607140393 Paris AFP in English 1345 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, July 16 (AFP)—Serb and Croat troops continued their joint offensive against Bosnian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina Friday amid reports of a possible impending meeting between the commanders of the Bosnian Serb and the mainly Moslem forces.

Bitter clashes broke out south of Mostar near the Bosnian-held village of Buna, U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Barry Frewer said.

At Buna and nearby Baglaj a joint Serb and Croat bombardment was targeting Bosnian Moslem troops, Commander Frewer said. [passage omitted]

On Tuesday, U.N. civilian affairs official Cedric Thornberry, speaking in Belgrade, mentioned a case of cooperation between Serb and Moslem forces in the Mostar sector, the first case of such a tactical alliance.

Meanwhile, an UNPROFOR probe into Monday's shelling of Sarajevo residents queuing for water, which left 12 dead, concluded that the mortar round had almost certainly been fired by Serb artillery, a spokesman said.

In the east of the Bosnian capital, Bosnian Serb troop movements were continuing, Frewer said, adding that the centre of Sarajevo had been relatively calm Thursday.

There were reports however of residents from the southern suburbs fleeing their homes and heading for the city centre amid fears of a new Serbian offensive following the fall of Trnovo, an access point to the city.

Some 400 Moslem refugees from Trnovo had reached the Moslem suburb of Butmir near Sarajevo airport, Frewer said.

Meanwhile Sarajevo's electricity and water supplies remained critical, with only the west of the city receiving both, UNPROFOR said.

Electricity was reaching the small Blazuj power station in a Serbian suburb, allowing water pumps at Bacevo to supply the western suburbs.

Gas supplies were reconnected Thursday [15 July] only to be swiftly cut off after two leaks were detected. Repairs were due to be carried out Friday, UNPROFOR said.

Meanwhile the beleaguered Moslem enclaves of Gorazde and Zenica remained cut off from aid supplies as Serb women blocked relief convoys, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported.

A convoy bound for Gorazde—one of six U.N.-declared safe areas in Bosnia—was held up Thursday in Medjedja where Serb protestors, predominantly women, have blocked a succession of convoys and demanded the release of Serbs held prisoner in the enclave.

A UNHCR spokesman said the convoy would try again Friday.

Two UNHCR convoys en route for Zenica were also blocked in Novi Travnik by Croat women demanding the release of Croats held there.

Bosnia's collective presidency convened in the capital Friday to discuss plans for a federated Bosnia, expected to be debated at a new round of Geneva talks next week.

**Serbs Free To Leave Herceg-Bosna Area**

*LD1707144693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)—All Serbs wishing to leave the area of Herceg-Bosna, the Croatian community in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be able to do so tomorrow afternoon [18 July], the ISKRA agency reported.

This agreement was reached between representatives of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and Herceg-Bosna in the village of Celebic near Grahovo yesterday, the RSK agency stated. About 300 Serbs are expected to leave Livno for free Serb territory.

According to Branko Dokic, commissioner of the Serbian republic central commission for the exchange of prisoners of war, an exchange will also be conducted of 100 Croatian and 100 Serbian prisoners of war, including Ognjen Tadic and Milovan Pejanovic, journalists of S-Channel, imprisoned by the Croatian Army near Peruca lake in January.

**Situation in Krajina 'Assuming More Normal Course'**

*AU1807150393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] After the successful talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Geneva yesterday, the events concerning the Maslenica Bridge and Zemunik Airport are obviously assuming a more normal course. Let us now hear our Knin correspondent Danko Peric:

[Peric] The 18th of July, which has been talked about as a problematic date for some time, does not differ from other days of the Krajina-Croatian war. The Headquarters of the Army of the Serbian Krajina stated this morning that in the last 24 hours the Croatian Army carried out combat activities along the entire line of the north Dalmatian and the Lika fronts, opening fire from all types of artillery and infantry weapons.

Considering that the Serbian Army from Krajina is a serious and strict military organization that enjoys international reputation, it will respect the decision adopted and signed by the Krajina political authorities. This was stated in the communique issued by the Press Center of the Headquarters of the Serbian Army from Krajina.

The representatives of the international community have held talks with the representatives of the authority and the Headquarters of the Serbian Army. In this way the existence of the republic of Serbian Krajina was indirectly accepted. The two sides undertook the joint responsibility to establish peace in this region. The representatives of the United Nations gave guarantees that the Croatian Army and police will withdraw from Islam Grcki, Smokovic, and Kasic. This was pointed out in a statement issued by the Krajina Press Center in Knin.

As we have learned in the Krajina commission for exchange of prisoners and other government organs, the meeting between the representatives of the Krajina and the Croatian commissions for exchange of prisoners should be taking place in Celebic near Grahovo as we are reporting. The exchange of war prisoners, among whom are S-Kanal journalists Ognjen Tadic and Milovan Pejanovic, would take place in the evening, unless new problems arise, problems that the Croatian side has regularly been creating in such cases.

**Tudjman Hails Opening of Zadar Airport**

*LD1807165693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Speech by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at ceremony to re-open Zadar airport; in Serbo-Croatian, with passage by English translation read by interpreter—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, Croatian men and women and citizens of Zadar and the Zadar and Knin county,

distinguished guests, esteemed leading representatives of the diplomatic corps, and representatives of world and home media,

Thank you for having come to attend this historic event, the opening of Zemunik airport. This is the first step toward the establishment of the constitutional and legal system throughout the territory of the Republic of Croatia, torn away from the body of this state by communist aggression.

The reinclusion of this facility of Zemunik airport into the civil aviation network of the Republic of Croatia is very significant. It is important not only for Zadar and this part of Croatia but also for the links of Croatia with the world. It will also promote economic and other development of the area. This is an event which is important and symbolic both for the direct and for the more distant future.

The opening of this facility, however important it may be for economic life, is also important for the reestablishment of Croatian sovereignty over the areas, territories which have been torn away from it. It shows that the losses suffered by the Croatian people in the establishment of the new government and in their defense against foreign aggression have borne fruit. It shows that the political and diplomatic efforts have also borne fruit and it also bears witness to the correctness of our path, of our determination in relying on our own forces, on the Croatian people, in our willingness to follow the international circumstances and use all the means and resources at our disposal for the achievement of this objective, including political and diplomatic steps leading to a peaceful solution.

This is a success for all of those who have taken part and it will certainly be beneficial for all the inhabitants of this area on a broader scale. Once again, let me offer my congratulations both to those who have taken part in the defence of this part of our country and to those who have contributed to its construction. Long live Zadar, one of the oldest Croatian cities, long live eternal Croatia.

**Tudjman Opens Maslenica Bridge**

*LD1807185093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Report from Maslenica by Bozidar Klaric]

[Text] President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman, accompanied by high-ranking officials, members of the diplomatic corps, and several hundred domestic and foreign reporters, walked across on foot the newly constructed pontoon bridge in Novsko Zdrilo at 1852 this evening, thus opening to traffic this bridge which again links, after nearly two years, the roads in north and south Croatia. The new pontoon bridge was blessed on the north side of Novsko Zdrilo by Archbishop of Zadar Marijan Oblak and apostolic nuncio in Croatia Einaudi.



Addressing the press, President Tudjman said that this was a great moment for Croatia, which marks the beginning of the implementation of the UN Security Council's resolutions which envisage among other things the return of Croatia's occupied areas to Croatian control and the reopening of other significant infrastructural facilities.

#### **Tudjman Speech**

*LD1807202293 Zagreb HTV Television in  
Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[“Portion” of statement by President Franjo Tudjman at ceremony to open Maslenica bridge—recorded]

[Text] What next? We have restored sovereignty over one part of Croatia's amputated land. In so doing we have confirmed that the Croatian people are determined to restore their sovereignty in the entire territory of their homeland. We have achieved this thanks to the determination of the Croatian Army, the Croatian people's determination, as well as our diplomatic and political wisdom, our willingness to resolve all problems in a peaceful, political way.

We have offered the rebel Serbs in Knin all civil and ethnic rights. We are still willing to do everything on our part to bring about as soon as possible a normalization of relations, the incorporation of Knin and all other zones into the Croatian economic, constitutional, and legal system, something that is in the interest of this population.

I believe that the fact that they agreed not to disrupt this occasion today suggests that they are increasingly coming to their senses and that reason will prevail among them. If this does not take place, all of them will experience what they experienced here after placing Maslenica and Ravni Kotari [Zadar hinterland] under their occupation. We want to solve the problem in a peaceful way, to guarantee the Serbs autonomy in Knin and Glina where they are in the majority, to guarantee them every right of Croatia's citizens. Understandably, we call on them to join this process of normalization following the opening to traffic of this bridge which links not only south Dalmatia, south Croatia, Dalmatia, with north Croatia but, consequently, Croatia to Europe, and to gradually proceed further step by step in erecting power lines, power lines which will benefit the population in these areas. There are also road and railway communications. We need a railroad line between Split and Zagreb, Europe, in the interest of all of Croatia, in the interest of Europe.

Consequently, they must understand that this action today to which they agreed is also an indication that increasing numbers of Knin Serbs understand that there is no other solution but to solve all their issues within the framework of the democratic Republic of Croatia. I hope that, as we said in the agreement, the statement I

co-signed with President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, there will be a gradual normalization of all aspects of life by peaceful means.

The Serbs, the Serbs of Knin, must find, in their own interest, the strength to exclude those extremists who resist this. They must understand that it is high time, that Croatia can no longer postpone the resolving of these matters since this is not just a political issue but a vital issue of this part of Croatia as well as of entire Croatia. They must understand that today we have the international community, the chief European and world factors behind our justified, legitimate rights of Croatian state sovereignty.

This is a sign of victory for Croatian policies, indicating the determination of Croatian policies as well as of the peacefulness of these policies. This determination of policy refers to the return of all areas to Croatian sovereignty at any cost, as well as our intention to try to solve this in a peaceful way. Understandably, as I have said, the Croatian people have demonstrated enough patience and they can no longer constantly suffer the state of affairs which was in evidence in the UN-protected zones when Maslenica and other areas were in fact under occupation, as other areas still are. Consequently today's action is an important step in this particular sense, so we can start resolving all the issues of reintegration of all UN-protected areas into Croatia's entire constitutional, legal, and economic life.

#### **Serbs Promise Not To Attack**

*AU1607163193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in  
Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] In reaction to Croatia's decision to open the Maslenica bridge at all costs on Sunday [18 July], Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, and Vojin Susa, spokesman for the delegation of the republic of Serbian Krajina, held a press conference. Jelena Vidic reports from the International Press Center:

Vojin Susa informed reporters that the delegation of the republic of Serbian Krajina, headed by president Goran Hadzic, at yesterday's meeting with the cochairmen's deputies, Ahrens and Vollebaek, signed an agreement which comprises the following points:

The Croatian Army will withdraw from the occupied territory of the republic of Serbian Krajina by 31 July at the latest.

In Islam Grcki, Kasici, and Smokovici, the police authorities of the republic of Serbian Krajina and the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] will take over. UNPROFOR's police will again take charge of the Maslenica bridge, Zemunik airport, and the Peruca dam. During this time, neither Croatian police nor the police of the republic of Serbian Krajina will be stationed in the area.

As a peaceful gesture, the republic of Serbian Krajina has agreed to allow the construction of the pontoon bridge at Maslenica once Croatia has signed this agreement. UNPROFOR's police will not enter the controversial area until 31 July, while both sides will continue negotiating until the problem is solved. Vojin Susa stressed that the republic of Serbian Krajina does not want to interfere with the construction of the bridge, so important for the Croatian economy, but it demands that the Croat Army withdraws from the territory which it has occupied in the attack carried out on 21 January.

Foreign minister Jarcevic stressed the readiness of the republic of Serbian Krajina's authorities to achieve peace as soon as possible through negotiations. However, if Croatia remains deaf to peaceful proposals by the Serbian side, the republic of Serbian Krajina will consider this to be a continuation of the aggression. Jarcevic explained that on 18 July, the army of the republic of Serbian Krajina will not undertake any military action against the Maslenica bridge, regardless of whether representatives of the diplomatic corps will be present there or not.

He stressed that the republic of Serbian Krajina will refrain from carrying out military activity after 31 July, provided that Croatia does not use the bridge to transport troops and weapons. The representatives of the republic of Serbian Krajina expressed the hope that Croatia would sign the offered agreement tomorrow at the latest, because of the international community's obvious condemnation of Zagreb's unilateral action, which threatens to cause a new, bloody war.

**RSK To 'Establish Its Authority' as of 1 Aug**  
*LD1907140493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1343 GMT 19 Jul 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, July 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Assembly of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Mile Paspalj said on Monday [19 Jul] that as of August 1, the RSK would establish its authority in all its areas Croatia occupied in its January 22 aggression.

After Croatia's forcible secession from Yugoslavia in 1991, the RSK was set up in the territory predominantly populated by Serbs who declined to accept their status be reduced to that of a national minority.

In January, Croatia began aggression on the RSK which has been a U.N. Protected Area (UNPA) since March, 1992, aiming to force its authority on this protected area.

Last weekend, the RSK and Croatian authorities reached accord for Croatian troops to withdraw from the occupied territories by July 31, while the Zemunik Airport, Maslenica Bridge and Peruca high dam (facilities in the south of the RSK which were captured by Croatia in its aggression) should be placed under exclusive control of

the UNPROFOR (U.N. Protection Force). In this territory, there would be no Croatian or RSK policemen.

At a news conference, Paspalj pointed out the role of the UNPROFOR in the implementation of this accord, because it was signed also by Deputy Cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia Knut Vollebaek and Geerd Ahrens.

"If the U.N. peace force fail to fulfil its role, nothing will be of this accord either," said Paspalj. In reiterating that the RSK Army has disrupted all its actions since Sunday, Paspalj added: "This is to continue until July 31, and already on August 1, we are taking over the authority on the areas occupied in January of this year."

The RSK State Committee for Relations with the UNPROFOR, in its announcement, voiced fear on Monday that Croatian President Feranjo Tudjman would try to "play out the signed accord" and hence the implementation of this accord was "a great test for the U.N., which will definitively show whether it is capable of bringing its member under discipline, or is it incapable when confronted with force and disrespect of any accords attained."

In announcing RSK-Croatia talks in Vienna on Tuesday on a lasting ceasefire, the committee assessed that these talks would mark the "beginning of the actual re-drawing of boundaries between the two states—the RSK and Croatia."

**Mesic To Convene Extraordinary Session of Assembly**

*LD1907130693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 19 Jul 93*

[Text] Croatian Assembly President Stipe Mesic has convened an extraordinary session of the Croatian Assembly's Chamber of Deputies for 28-30 July. Jasenka Dudic reports:

[Dudic] The reason for an extraordinary session is the fact that it will be held after the regularly scheduled sessions. The Croatian Government made the request. Taking into account the necessary establishment of a new economic system and the creation of conditions for the smooth functioning of the newly established territorial organization of the Croatia republic, the government considers it essential to examine the draft laws it had submitted to the assembly, namely 34 draft laws, of which seven are presented for urgent consideration. Nine will be referred for a first reading, 15 for a second, and three for a third reading in the Chamber of Deputies. Five reports will also be considered: a government report on the implementation of foreign policy, the process and outcome of the transformation of public enterprises, a report on the performance of the Croatian radio and television, and finally, a report by the commission for the performance assessment of the Hrvatske Sume [Croatian forests] public enterprise. Forty items were proposed for the agenda of the Chamber of Deputies,

while 37 items were proposed for the Chamber of Counties, which will be in session on 27 and 28 July.

#### **Ganic on Bosnia Situation, Other Issues**

*LD1807094093 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Peter Obersovszky has interviewed Croatian Foreign Minister Mato Granic.

[Begin recording] [Obersovszky] Foreign minister, do you not feel it unjust that Croatia has been very sharply criticized because it is allegedly willing to hold separate talks with Serbia about Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Granic] Croatia has not conducted and is not preparing to conduct separate talks with Serbia about the possible split of Bosnia-Herzegovina. My government has consistently stressed that it supports the international peace plan and wants a settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina based on equal rights. A solution has to be found for the coexistence of Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and Serbs, one which will guarantee equal possibilities to all three nationalities. In other words, there can only be a future for some kind of federative concept. We stressed this at all previous international talks. President Tudjman has also now gone to Geneva with similar ideas in order to meet the Serbian and Bosnian presidents.

So, it is entirely absurd to label Croatia an aggressor and to threaten it with punitive measures on account of the war raging in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Do not forget that the EC and the UN cannot get the ceasefire and the Geneva peace plan asserted either. They are unable to curb the Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Obersovszky] Is it true that Bosnians are laying a claim to those territories, even within Croatia itself, where Muslims did not live before?

[Granic] No, the Muslims have no claims to territories within Croatia. We know only of concepts, for instance, that perhaps we should assure a corridor for the Bosnians through Croatia to the sea. We are obliged to reject this proposal in all its forms because we consider the situation impossible whereby Muslims should be given Croatian territories in compensation for the territories taken away from them in their own country.

[Obersovszky] The Croatian Serbs, according to reports, have launched a further provocative attack against Karlovac, Zadar. Croatia is in a sensitive situation because, if it reacts, it could easily run the risk of Serbia expressing its disapproval. What can be done in this situation? How can further animosities be prevented from breaking out?

[Granic] Yes, it is true that it is a question of provocations, which have virtually become constant on the part of the Croatian Serbs. Croatia is indeed in a difficult situation, since every counterattack would worsen the already tense relations with Serbia. On the other hand, it is an absurd situation if they can fire with impunity at

Croatian settlements from the Krajina Serbian territories under UN supervision. For this reason the Croatian Government will again propose that the mandate of the UN forces operating in Croatia be reexamined. These provocations endanger the Vance peace plan. [end recording]

#### **Security Council Briefed on Geneva, Budapest Talks**

*LD1707212593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] The president's office announced that the 17th session of the Council of Defense and National Security was held in the Presidential Palace in Zagreb this evening under the chairmanship of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. The council was informed about an agreement that was signed yesterday between representatives of the Croatian Government and the local Serbs, which will enable the unhindered construction and restoration of traffic across Maslenica bridge.

The council was also briefed about talks that President Tudjman held in Geneva and also about a statement issued today by President Tudjman and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic and Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic informed the Council about talks they had in Budapest at a meeting of prime ministers and ministers of foreign affairs of nine Central European Initiative countries, the statement from the session of the Council of Defense and National Security says in conclusion.

#### **Serbs Agree on Withdrawal of Croatian Forces in Krajina**

*LD1607145793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—The republic of Serb Krajina has accepted the agreement according to which the Croatian Army and police are to withdraw from all occupied Serb territories by 31 July at the latest and the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] is to take over, Vojin Susa, spokesman of the Krajina negotiating team, told journalists today.

Once the withdrawal of the Croatian Army and police is completed, the Maslenica bridge, Zemunik airport, and Peruca dam will be placed under the sole control of UNPROFOR, which means that neither the Croatian nor the Serb police will be stationed in this area. The construction of the pontoon bridge can only begin once both sides have signed this agreement.

The agreement was also signed by Geert Ahrens and Knut Vollebaek, deputy chairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, Susa said, and now we are only waiting for the Croatian side to sign it.



**RSK Assembly Head Calls For Withdrawal of  
Army, Police**

*LD1707134893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in  
Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Text] Knin, 17 July (TANJUG)—Churkin has come to Knin to relaunch his already well-known initiative regarding negotiations with the other side about economic issues beneficial to both sides, Mile Paspalj, president of the assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], has told reporters. It is our stand, Paspalj went on to say, that we ought to talk with Croatia about demarcation and then, he stressed, we should talk about all issues as two sovereign states.

He expressed a hope that Churkin would also help in this matter. We have unofficially learned that he will return to Zagreb after the talks. In Paspalj's words, as far as the opening of the Maslenica bridge is concerned, Krajina is being subjected to pressure although the bridge is on Krajina's territory. In this context he stressed the willingness of the RSK to cooperate but not at any cost or under a system of blackmail.

Finally, he pointed to the firm stand of the assembly of the RSK; that is, everything can be discussed and negotiated on the condition that the Croatian Army and police withdraw from the Krajina area, which they occupied in January this year.

**Krajina Prime Minister Warns of 'Another Big  
War'**

*AU1607200993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in  
Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Djordje Bjegovic, prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, in reaction to the announcement of the pending opening of the Maslenica bridge, said that he believes that everything can be solved through negotiations.

In his statement to Radio Knin, Bjegovic said that Croatia's communication with Dalmatia must be achieved, but it must be in a way to which both sides have agreed upon. In the opinion of the republic of Serbian Krajina's prime minister, unilateral solutions have always led to war. The same will happen this time, unless something is not done within two days. Then we will be at the beginning of another big war, stressed Bjegovic.

## Federal

### Assembly Appeals To Russian Supreme Soviet

LD1607220493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 16 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—The FRY Assembly today appealed to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to initiate a procedure to lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia since the absurdity of their introduction has been proven during the past year.

The letter sent to the Supreme Soviet proposes an initiative to have the deeply inhumane and unjust sanctions lifted, and for Russia to stop taking part in them in any case.

The letter adds that the sanctions are based on wrong, one-sided, and untrue assumptions—that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is the aggressor in the former Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the assumption obviously needed by some forces, protectors of secession from the former Yugoslavia, in order to declare the Serb people guilty of starting the war and in that way conceal their own responsibility for the tragic break-up of the Yugoslav state.

Even today when facts can confirm that Yugoslavia is not an actor in the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, when the truth has been revealed that the war there is a civil, national, and ethnic war, which is proven by the Muslim-Croat conflict, when about 50,000 soldiers from the Republic of Croatia are fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina, when the FRY is doing everything to bring the war to an end, the sanctions against Yugoslavia remain in force, the letter says.

"Despite the comprehensive and constructive cooperation of the FRY in the peace process, the sanctions are being stepped up and are turning into a total blockade of our country and an isolation of its people," the letter says. [passage omitted]

"The federal assembly is convinced that you share our concern for peace in the world, for equitable relations between countries, large and small, for the rights of individuals and nations, and thus we appeal to you to declare the sanctions absurd, politically detrimental, and inhumane," the federal parliament's letter to the Russian Supreme Soviet says, with a call to the Soviet and the government of Russia to initiate a procedure in the Security Council to lift the sanctions against the FRY, to declare a moratorium on the sanctions while the negotiations are under way, and for the Russian Federation to be the first to make such a decision.

### Lilic Expected To Support Milosevic Regime

AU1807175493 Belgrade SRPSKA REC in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jul 93 p 52

[Article by Gordana Susa: "Volunteer Ticket Collector"]

[Text] Is Zoran Lilic a political fashion model who merely wears a suit on the state catwalk, while the designer is someone else? This is a question that has been shuffled around in the public these days. Will the lost authority of the federal state return with Lilic being appointed head of state?

Considering President Milosevic's comment on Lilic's appointment, in which he said that he expects him to carry out his duties successfully, all queries and questions are redundant. However, in the spirit of the tradition of the party that Lilic belongs to (and as remarked by Miljenko Dereta, member of the Citizens' Alliance), perhaps the young and ambitious Lilic will break the team in power from within, as did the young Milosevic upon coming into power when he had all his senior colleagues dismissed!

Considering these two points, there is a lot that will support the first one, especially the fact that Milosevic is aware of "the foul heart" and that he so far has not repeated the mistakes of his predecessors. Chances are, therefore, that his expectations will be met. By transferring the chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia to the helm of the federal state, Milosevic's regime is definitely consolidating the levers of authority in the two-headed federation.

One can undoubtedly expect from the charming, youthful Lilic a new dose of optimism that will be a match for the "destructive" anxiety of his dismissed predecessor. His appointment removes the suspicion fanned by certain members of the leading party at least for a while—the suspicion that it is possible to carry on without the president of Yugoslavia. The appointment has served to display the "goodwill" of the Serbian authorities to settle for the position of the "paper" president, and not to touch the federal prime minister Radoje Kontic, a Montenegrin, after all. In spite of some announcements in political circles, and even harsh criticisms of his office, the federal prime minister himself deserves credit for this "turn", as he has turned out to be more than loyal to the demands of the Serbian authorities, to which he in fact does not present an obstacle. In this way the constitutional obligation regarding the distribution of functions between Serbia and Montenegro is, at least formally, observed. It will be interesting to see whether the federal prime minister will be given back his "usurped" jobs—especially those concerning foreign policy—from the former president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, now that Lilic has been appointed.

The lightning political promotion of Lilic, highlighted in the media by the sentence, directed toward the Serbian opposition: "Leave and close the door please," reminds of his job as a ticket collector which he was doing as a volunteer during his studies, but also in a certain way marks his political position and loyalty to the leader to whose most confidential circles he has made way.

However, such a lightning career (he has been in politics for only two years), if one disregards the possibility that he had been given the position of general manager of the Rakovica company Rekord for political reasons, conceals the pitfall of burning out fast. After this function he does not have much choice, so he will do his best in order to make it last. And it will last as long as does the loyalty to those who had nominated and finally appointed him. Lilic had shown up in the Palace of the Federation the day before the formal election, to check out the situation. The team of experts spent the Monday as if on thorns awaiting his decisions, certain that many, especially the inherited advisers of the former president, would be benched.

It is almost certain that Lilic will not improvise but act strictly according to instructions, one of which he has already received at the Yugoslav Assembly—to get rid of, as Seselj said, the sterile and worthless administration, especially Cosic's advisers, whom Seselj has once more classified as foreign mercenaries.

The role of the president being to represent the state at home and abroad, as defined by the Constitution, gives Lilic a certain independence, but it is more than certain that he will not use it, as he has so far turned out to be an impeccable executive, which brought him into the circle of Milosevic's most confidential people. The president of Serbia, on the other hand, always plays it safe.

As head of state and thus supreme commander of the Yugoslav Army, Lilic is expected to quickly resolve and consolidate the situation in the military leadership. Bearing in mind the well-known sentence: "President, what are you waiting for; you have the army behind you", which, in the "famous" report written in shorthand and addressed to Cosic, annoyed Milosevic, what follows is an urgent "removal" of such generals. The ground has been prepared for that in the federal parliament with the proposal to readjust the federal budget, which in the form of saving anticipates the retirement of about 30 percent of the present Army cadre, and thus a real purge may be expected. A prominent position in the "reorganized" Army, judging by the situation, is intended for Vuk Obradovic, the former spokesman of the Federal Yugoslav Army and Milosevic's main secret agent, who, as some press reports say, had discovered Cosic's plans for a military coup.

Apart from the exceptionally powerful police force and the purged Army, with the loyal Lilic heading the state, and with the, so to speak, unison parliament, Milosevic's regime has firmly established itself at the federal level as well.

There is, however, a little query, and that is—how long will Seselj be satisfied with the leading minor part in the system of authority? Namely, whether by accident or on purpose, he very often mentions in informal speeches that the main showdown is still to come.

#### Lilic on Goals of Domestic, Foreign Policy

AU1807185693 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 93 p 5

[Interview with Zoran Lilic, president of the FRY, by Mirjana Cekerevac; place and date not given: "Yugoslavia Has a Chance"]

[Text] Zoran Lilic was elected president of the FRY without any pomp. He accepted his function as a great obligation and expressed his readiness to fulfill it.

Although Lilic is no professional politician, his appointment elicited the interest of the international public as well. The letters of congratulation by many foreign statesmen represent the regard toward his personality and the function he performs, as well as toward Yugoslavia as an international factor, regardless of the fact that the international community has still not recognized it.

President Lilic agreed to give an interview to Mirjana Cekerevac, journalist of POLITIKA EKSPRES.

[Cekerevac] Since you became president of the FRY, are you one of those who has fulfilled the dream about the rise of ordinary people, or rather the so-called American dream?

[Lilic] That is exactly the way a part of the press refers to my appointment, of course with different interpretations—from positive to extremely negative. It is quite normal that after I was elected president of the FRY the press has been writing a lot about me, but the problem seems to be my career, short of any sensational things. I did not perform any important function in the former regime, in contrast to many of our current politicians and their orientations. Just as there is no money that pours into Rakovica and the firm of Rekord at my request, as some newspapers wrote, so there are no obscure moments in my career.

[Editorial note] The president of Yugoslavia commented that journalists have already written everything about him, from his fixing curtains, modeling, to his career in the Serbian Assembly and [Communist] Party. Lilic also stressed he has never thought he should hide the fact that he had to do the most varied jobs in order to be able to finish his studies, because, unfortunately, his parents were not so well-off to support him.

[Lilic] I wanted to study, and I think it is no shame to do any job honestly, and as far as I know such an attitude is accepted throughout the world. Nobody has the right to deprive anybody of the chance to achieve what one wants through one's own work.

[Cekerevac] You became the head of a state whose existence has been quite often denied, because, reportedly, some fundamental issues have still not been settled. Do you also think that such issues exist?



[Lilic] The Constitution defines Yugoslavia as a sovereign, independent federal state, founded on the equality of its citizens and federal units. For me it is important that the Constitution guarantees the freedoms and rights of the citizens, that it defines the state as a federation, and ensures the state continuity. It is also important for me that there are no ideological premises in specified goals of the political and economic development....

[Cekerevac] Still, the Constitution adopted in Zabljak has been often criticized in both Serbia and Montenegro. Do you believe that there is something missing in the Constitution, or that the state defined by that Constitution does not function according to its principles?

[Lilic] For me it is crucial that the Constitution defines the state that ensures the preservation of the original core of the Serbian and Montenegrin people, and their statehood. There are different opinions, but on the question of whether the federal state exists at all, the best answer are the authorizations given to that state. I believe there exist no absolute and eternal solutions. Everything in this world is liable to change, but the dynamics depends on the nature of the problem.

Now we have a federal state composed of two equal federal units. I think that we should abolish neither Serbia nor Montenegro only to create a new, super-state, headed by people with absolute power, who would decide upon everything without consulting with anyone else. I believe that the federation based on the Constitution and on the equality of its citizens and republics is a good solution, a solution that functions. As a rule, in political life there are two large groups—critics and protagonists. I belong to the second group, which is incomparably more difficult and responsible to endure. I do not see any obstacles to Yugoslavia's functioning, nor can I accept its non-functioning, while the fact that its federal units, or rather their leaders actively contribute to that is for me an advantage, rather than a deficiency.

[Cekerevac] You said in your inaugural speech that, in view of the changed internal and international circumstances, as well as of jointly defined interests, the constitutional principle about the openness of the FRY leaves the possibility for others to join it. Such a desire has been expressed by the Serbian republic [SR] and the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK]. What ought to be changed in the internal affairs, and what ought to be changed on the international stage in order for the FRY to be capable of meeting their desires?

[Lilic] The Serbian state was reestablished in 19th century, and from that point dates the problem of how to make Serbia a virtual protector of Serbs who, being under alien authorities, were forced to migrate. That was and remained the permanent national task. Our reality is also the fact that Serbia is now internationally isolated, and it has to balance most carefully every step in foreign policy in order to improve its position. I am sure that in the time marked by the secession of other peoples, we managed to save the entirety of the Serbian national

entity by the policy of preserving the original statehood, and of leaving the possibility for some new federal units to join us. The Serbian people in the RSK have been under the protection of the international community, while there have been many efforts made to settle the Bosnian crisis....

[Cekerevac] What ought to be done in order for the SR and the RSK to obtain approval for the FRY?

[Lilic] I have already stressed the importance of Yugoslavia's being a federal state, that is, according to the Constitution, organized in such a way that it can be a basis for the gradual unification of all those who want to live in it, and to jointly build it and contribute to its development. In order for that possibility to be accomplished Serbia first has to find a solution for its international position, and of course for the position of the FRY. One has to keep in mind that the international community supported the secession of four former Yugoslav republics. However, it has never treated that as a secession, but persistently insisted on the disintegration of Yugoslavia, probably out of fear for its own interests. The example of the former SFRY set all the possible political and economic precedents. Those are the facts, and therefore it is important for us to make efforts in order to achieve peace, and also that elementary freedoms and rights of the Serbian people outside Yugoslavia are protected. We have to be politically wise and patient, because that is the only way to solve the problem.

[Cekerevac] You said you would do anything in order to achieve a minimal consensus regarding the protection of the national interest of the country and citizens. How do you intend to accomplish that in view of quite frequent remarks that one should first determine what the national interest is?

[Lilic] I think that many of us are behaving too casually with respect to the situation we are objectively in. We simply do not have time, and there are so many things in our country that have to be done immediately, so it would be a real catastrophe if any of the political forces in this country believed that we need a certain time now, perhaps a year, to agree upon what our national interest is, and only then, if we harmonize our views, to see what is to be done further.

I do not want to assume the role of somebody who will definitely define the national interest, but, as far as I am concerned, those things are quite clear. The first thing this country must concentrate on is the preservation of peace, as well as the establishment of peace in the regions bordering on the FRY. It must preserve its territorial integrity, the freedom of political decisionmaking in the elections, the observation of democratic institutions and recognition of the legitimacy of elected authorities, as well as the observation of the right to free thinking for ourselves and others. We have to seek the solution in work, through the exploitation of huge economic potentials, as well as to break the international isolation.

Given all this as our main goals, then everything else is secondary. Those who relied upon others made a cardinal mistake, because they forgot that the solution lies in their own hands. That is what I meant when stating my views in the Assembly.

[Cekerevac] When you were elected president some people emphasized among other things that with respect to your authorizations your function is only ceremonial. Do you also think so?

[Lilic] When I was elected president, in one of my first interviews journalists asked me a similar question. I did not think that the chairman of the Serbian Assembly is a ceremonial function either, and the practice confirmed my opinion. I also believe that nobody can consider the function of the president of the FRY to be exclusively ceremonial, however, there are different prejudices and opinions. If some people do think so, I will not deny their right to think so. I personally believe that everything is clearly specified in the Constitution.

[Box, p 5]

**"The Case of General Panic and Son: Nobody Is Hushing Up"**

[Cekeravac] A great dust has been raised about Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, and his son. As is rumored, the state commission in charge of the case finished its investigation, and submitted the report to the president of the FRY. There is still no information about the results, however rumors say that the documentation was being taken out of the headquarters of the General Staff by the sackful, and that all traces were destroyed.

[Lilic] One of the rules of the journalistic profession is to launch any news in public as spectacularly as possible, but taking out documentation by the sackful is too much still. Everybody has to take the consequences for everything they did against the laws of this country, but on the basis of valid proofs, while the public has the right to be informed, and will be informed when everything is over. To brandish various theses before the investigation is over is above all politically useless, and may harm us.

[Cekeravac] The dragged-out investigation elicited an impression that this affair will be hushed up as well, since the report has already been finished, and the meeting of the Supreme Defense Council has already been held, while nothing has been said about it, at least not publicly.

[Lilic] Nobody intends to hush up anything. We shall do anything to close the Kentaur case as soon as possible, and to transform the Yugoslav Army into the real defender of the sovereignty of our country. There are many of those who have already met the conditions for retirement....

[Cekerevac] When will that "as soon as possible" of yours come about, and will everything be over with the resignation of General Panic?

[Lilic] Some additional information has been required from the state commission, as well as from General Panic; however, the Supreme Defense Council does not intend to be an arbiter. We demanded that concrete data be specified and submitted about whether General Panic misused his official rank in the business arrangements between the Yugoslav Army and the firm of Kentaur or not, and that will be done in the soonest possible time. Nothing will be hushed up, while in the report by the state commission there are quite enough indications to close the Kentaur case. As early as at the next meeting of the Supreme Defense Council we shall talk about staff and changes in the Yugoslav Army.

[Box, p 5]

**"Appearance Has Not Been Assumed"**

[Cekerevac] Your appointment to the post of the president of the FRY was assessed by some of the assemblymen as the establishment of the co-presidency of Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic. There were also those who commented that it is actually Milosevic who took up the post, having assumed Lilic's appearance.

[Lilic] I did not take up this function in order to struggle for absolute power, but to help as much as I can, and in cooperation with all the factors, the country and naive citizens that are faced with many difficulties—the sanctions, the war that is going on at one part of its borders, and a very difficult economic situation. We have much better chances to improve our international position if we take a collective attitude toward the international community. It is not the right time either for political outwitting, or disagreements, or individual vanities.

By the way, nobody assumed anybody's appearance. Still, I do not deny the democratic right to a different opinion, and even if in such an opinion the strength and influence of the president is being measured by the height of aspirations for absolute power. As for myself, I do not care who has the power, or how great it is. I care about finding the solution as soon as possible, while the maximal cooperation with Milosevic and Bulatovic may only lead to a prompt settlement, and I do not hide my intention to maximally cooperate with both of them.

**Kontic Appeals to UN To Lift Medicine Sanctions**  
*LD1607161593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1518*  
*GMT 16 Jul 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 16 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) Radoje Kontic appealed on Friday to Ronald Mot Sardenberg,

chairman of the Sanctions Committee of the U.N. Security Council, to see to it that his committee should for humanitarian reasons urgently lift a ban on the imports of pharmaceutical production materials by the seven Yugoslav manufacturers of medicine.

In an earlier request, Kontic had already asked permission for the seven Yugoslav firms to import the necessary raw materials for the production of medicaments.

In voicing surprise at the committee's stand that the seven Yugoslav drug manufacturers had violated the U.N. sanctions, and for this reason were banned to import raw materials, Kontic, in his letter to Sardenberg, emphasizes that "neither the Federal Government, nor the said medicine producers have in any way participated in any trade arrangements with Slovenia (ex-Yugoslav republic) or with its firms as regards the exports of medicine from the F.R.Y., what would have been in violation of provisions in (U.N.) Resolution 757."

Appealing to Sardenberg, Kontic notes that the health condition of the F.R.Y. population is extremely bad and has been deteriorating daily, in the first place as a result of the implementation of sanctions.

The U.N. sanctions against the F.R.Y. took effect on May 30, 1992, and were tightened twice since, the last time in April of this year.

The sanctions were imposed because the F.R.Y. had allegedly performed aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, although in this ex-Yugoslav republic there are no soldiers of the Army of Yugoslavia (VJ). Warring in Bosnia-Herzegovina, there are its three constituent nations—Moslems, Serbs, Croats.

Under the conditions of being subjected to deadly sanctions, the F.R.Y. cares also for about 600,000 registered and 150,000 unregistered refugees from the war-ravaged areas of former Yugoslavia. Out of this total number, 250,000 are children aged 7-18.

#### **'Blockade Against Blockade' Protests UN Sanctions**

*LD1807183293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—Blockade against the blockade, an action of protest against the U.N. sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the international blockade of the Danube as part of control of their implementation, started at noon on Sunday with a barrage of ships and boats laid across the river at Zemun near Belgrade.

During the next ten days, foreign ships will be allowed to sail on the Yugoslav section of this European waterway only with permission from the headquarters of the protest action organized by the White Rose Anti-Racial Alliance for Truth and Justice and the new Byzantium Association of Orthodox Concord, both of Belgrade.

Crews of the foreign ships will be given written appeals with a message saying that "the Serbian people in this way resolutely opposes the Africanization of the Balkans and the introduction of neo-colonialism in Europe, whose victims are intended to be the Serbs and their state territory," the White Rose president, writer Radomir Smiljanic, said.

The message also says that by this action, "the Serbian people protects its right to live and its freedom and strikes back at world racists."

A rich programme of cultural, artistic and sports events will be held concurrently with the action. Foreign ships will be let through the barrage only if Yugoslav ships, primarily those carrying humanitarian aid, are allowed across the borders on the one-for-one basis, the organizers said.

As part of the U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, introduced in May last year and tightened last April, Yugoslav ships are banned from sailing on the Danube outside the country's territory.

If, in the meantime, the ban on the Yugoslav shipping is not lifted, all foreign ships will be prevented from sailing on the Yugoslav section of the Danube, the organizers of the protest action announced.

#### **Organizations Announce Blockade of Danube Near Belgrade**

*AU1707200893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Excerpt] Most of the countries along the Danube experience the damage caused by the sanctions against our country on their own economic skin. That is why dissatisfaction can be sensed in these countries and why the voices of the advocates of Danube's blockade are gaining in strength. Only Austria, whose ships are sailing unhindered, holds a contrary opinion.

However, a manifestation entitled "The Blockade of the Danube" will commence on the Zemun quay, in front of, that is, underneath Venecija restaurant tomorrow at noon. The manifestation is organized by the non-party and non-government associations Bela Ruza [White Rose] and Nova Vizantija [New Byzantium]. [passage omitted]

#### **Focus of Yugoslav Problem Shifting to Kosovo**

*LD1807125393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1147 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—Now that it is clear that the world can no longer accuse Serbs of being aggressors, the focus of the problem is being shifted to Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet), the new president of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, Zoran Brankovic, said in an interview published in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES on Sunday.



The tactic is very old and well known—it is necessary again to weaken Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the inside, Arandjelovic, whose previous post was that of deputy president of the Assembly of Serbia, said.

An ethnic-Albanian secessionist movement has been active in Kosmet for decades with a view to having the province break away from Serbia and Yugoslavia and join neighbouring Albania.

The secessionist movement of ethnic Albanians, who have the status of a national minority in Serbia And Yugoslavia, has been supported by various international factors and foreign media, which have been qualifying as alleged human and minority rights violations the measures taken by Serbia to prevent any attempt at Kosmet's secession.

Arandjelovic said that international factors were looking for a pretext to keep in effect the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia, because he said no real reason for the sanctions existed.

The sanctions were introduced against Yugoslavia, i.e. its two republics Serbia and Montenegro, because of its alleged involvement in the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Arandjelovic said that the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) mission which was monitoring respect for human rights in Yugoslavia and whose mandate Yugoslavia recently declined to extend 'did not show good will towards Serbia,' although he said nobody in Serbia had anything against the mission's stay.

However, it is unacceptable to have the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia expelled from the CSCE and, at the same time, to have a CSCE mission staying in Serbia and dealing only with the rights of the Albanian minority, just as it is unacceptable not to permit Yugoslavia legally to substantiate its positions in the work of the CSCE, Arandjelovic said.

#### **Chamber of Republics Adopts Laws on Army, Defense**

*LD1607162693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—The Federal Assembly's Chamber of the Republics today adopted two laws on the military—the law on the Yugoslav Army and the law on defense. According to the law on the Yugoslav Army, which regulates its status in legislative terms, conscripts will be called up for military service at the age of 21, while the age limit for those attending universities or secondary schools will be 27.

The law on defense introduces a single defense system for the entire country and creates conditions for the implementation of the initiated transformation of the Yugoslav Army. The Federal Assembly will in future be

responsible for the proclamation of an immediate danger of war, the proclamation of general alert, and a state of war on the territory of the entire country.

#### **Minister Calls For 'Adequate Funding' for Army**

*AU1607154693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Mijusko Tomic report]

[Excerpt] Pavle Bulatovic, the federal minister for the Yugoslav Army, has submitted a report on the proposed changes to the federal budget for 1993, on the part which pertains to the Army. He said that the proposal for a budget revision had been drawn up bearing in mind the necessity for maximal savings and investigating all those who depend on the funds. Minister Bulatovic reminded the federal deputies of the uncertainty and danger to the safety and independence of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the present circumstances.

[Begin Bulatovic recording] The military forces now concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the FRY are unprecedented in recent history. When I say this, I am not claiming that these forces will be used against us, but I am claiming that the danger of a military option has not ended.

The war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is not stopping, [words indistinct] most of the accusations are directed at us. It is a fact that these accusations are unfounded, but in them we must look for motives and interests of foreign factors as a whole. This war is objectively threatening to spread to our state. Croatia is being increasingly open with its threats of military force against the republic of Serbian Krajina, which could escalate into a large-scale Croat-Serb war, with the probable involvement of foreign factors. In this, we must view the danger to our safety and (?independence). [end recording]

According to Bulatovic, our country has for a long time been exposed to all forms of pressure, excluding only the direct application of military force. In our immediate surroundings there is an increase in military potential. The sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia and the grave situation in our country, stressed Minister Bulatovic, demands that we have a strong military force, well organized, with a high morale, well trained, and [word indistinct] equipped with modern combat technology.

Talking about the position of the Yugoslav Army in recent years, Minister Bulatovic stressed:

[Begin Bulatovic recording] This is an army that has been deprived of 50 percent of its homeland. An army which has been betrayed by politicians, officers, and soldiers, an army which had to abandon in battle, barracks, arms, equipment, buildings, tens of thousands of apartments, factories, assembly halls, and so forth. This is an army whose state fell apart, yet despite everything, it survived. It is realistic to expect that in

such circumstances slip-ups and mistakes occur in the organizational and operative functioning of the Army.

Malice and insinuations will not help its consolidation as a whole. The process of transformation of our Army actually started with the decision to rename the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] the Yugoslav Army, which was made in May 1992. [end recording]

Faced with financial problems, the Yugoslav Army has been forced to use its peacetime and partly its wartime reserves. The medicinal use of medicines is also running out. [sentence as heard] Since the peacetime supplies have dwindled to (?510) days, the Yugoslav Army has found itself in an unenviable situation. Bulatovic drew attention to the fact that the proposed sum for financing the Yugoslav Army was going to ease its open problems and secure the maintenance of the necessary level of combat readiness.

[Begin Bulatovic recording] The rejection of the offered proposal for the revision [of the budget] would certainly mean a complete lapse in financing the Army. In conditions of already exhausted material reserves, this would cause a standstill in the functioning of the Army, and it would bring into question the realization of its constitutional function. If this budget revision is rejected, the Federal Government cannot be held responsible for the functioning of the Army, and for the country's defense.

For every pointless saving on the Army, the price to be paid is high and it is usually paid in blood. The Army needs funds on time, and it needs adequate funding. Finally, deputies, I implore you to accept and approve the offered proposal for the law, all the more so because it must satisfy a number of pressing and vital needs of our state and people. [end recording] [passage omitted]

#### **Simic Assesses Country's International Position**

*AU1807200793 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 18 Jul 93*

[Interview with Zeljko Simic, deputy prime minister of the FRY federal government, by Angelina Vucic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Vucic] Mr. Simic, how do you now, as a deputy prime minister of the federal government, assess the future course of the negotiations on the former Yugoslavia?

[Simic] It is very unwise to make any succinct assessments of the Geneva negotiations. The negotiations are still in progress and their final outcome is still not in sight. However, regardless of that, I can say that we consider these talks extremely favorable, primarily because they have in a way strengthened and rehabilitated the principles promoted by Yugoslavia from the very beginning of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I would like to stress two principles in particular. We have been striving from the very beginning of the civil war in Bosnia for the principle of all three peoples that live in

this former Yugoslav republic being constituent. The second principle that has now emerged as unusually realistic and advantageous for the outcome of the negotiations themselves is the principle that no solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be found without a consensus of these three constituent peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the least of all peace.

[Vucic] How will the federal government react if Croatia carries out aggression against the republic of Serbian Krajina?

[Simic] I cannot, of course, influence the decision of the federal government, but I can quite categorically state that we will take all possible and effective available political and diplomatic measures to inform the most influential institutions in the world and all countries on what had in fact happened. We will try to prevent Croatia's aggression against the territory of Krajina with the help of these diplomatic measures that I mentioned.

[Vucic] Will this have any effect, because it is obvious that the world is applying different standards toward Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia? The United Nations is issuing threats and criticisms, but is not doing anything in practice.

[Simic] I think that the statement by Mr. Thornberry is indicative in this context. He stated yesterday in a very sharp tone that Croatia has violated two very important Security Council resolutions concerning the Maslenica bridge. I think that this is a very reliable sign that the Security Council, and thus the United Nations, will no longer tolerate such a drastic violation of the elementary principles on which international relations are founded at present.

[Vucic] How do you explain the increasing interest that our neighbors have recently been expressing in their people who live in our country as national minorities?

[Simic] The countries that you are referring to have suddenly expressed interest in the fate of their compatriots in our country, who have the status of national minorities and whose, as the entire world knows, freedoms and rights guaranteed by international documents have been respected. Therefore, the only thing that I can observe and conclude is the fact that they became interested in this issue primarily because our country is in a serious crisis and because old aspirations have reemerged from the past, aspirations they cannot evidently get rid of so easily.

[Vucic] There are differing views in Serbia and Montenegro concerning the CSCE mission. Can you explain this?

[Simic] The fact is that there are some differences. I would not want to dramatize, nor mystify, the view of the Montenegrin Government, which has accepted the view of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro. We are talking about a different assessment of a specific situation.

I would like to recall the words of a wise Montenegrin deputy, who said that the life in a common state assumes a life in differences and with differences. I completely agree with this without any irony. What I would like to stress is that when it comes to the vital interests of the country, we must overcome these differences through democratic, tolerant, substantiated discussions, something the Montenegrin deputies are promoting all the time, something that we are always ready for. This has to be said.

My impression is that the differences that you mentioned, and which, in my view, are not of serious proportions, nor should they be, rest on the different understanding of the term cooperativeness, the term I use very reluctantly. Cooperativeness assumes two-way traffic. It appear to me that in this case this dynamic relation is moving in only one direction, from us to the world. It is not coming from the world toward us. Therefore, I think that we should avoid a definition according to which cooperativeness would imply subservient attitudes toward all proposals, even in cases when the proposal is such that it encroaches the vital interests of our country and it does not assume equality and mutual respect.

#### **Parliament Approves Revised 1993 Budget**

*LD1607213893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2008 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Belgrade, July 16 (TANJUG)—Parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia adopted on Friday the country's revised budget for 1993.

The Chamber of Citizens, the lower house of the federal parliament, failed to pass an earlier budget estimate of 1,327,756 billion dinars proposed by the government late last month. Deputies objected mainly to the unrealistically high sum compared to the possibilities.

The present budget estimates amount to 1,277,756 billion dinars (about 260 million German marks at the current black market exchange rate). This is approximately 26 times more than the originally proposed sum, but one-fifth less in real terms.

The government warned on Thursday that the sum would not be enough to finance the federal expenditure and would have to be revised again by the end of the year.

The cuts affect primarily the Yugoslav Army, which accounts for 75.5 per cent of budgetary expenditure. The other major items are disability and veteran benefits and the expenses to help refugees from the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

The budget's share in the GNP remains 10.2 per cent. Most of it (70 per cent) will come from real sources, such as turnover and other taxes and customs duties, and the rest out of primary issue through credits from the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

#### **New National Bank Governor, Federal Public Prosecutor**

*LD1607192493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1831 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—Borislav Atanackovic was today elected the new governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and Milomir Jakovljevic federal public prosecutor.

#### **Results of Public Opinion Poll**

*93BA1199B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 93 pp 24-26*

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "Public Opinion Poll II: Dead Sea"]

[Text] As we wrote in the last issue, the Center for Political Research and Public Opinion of the Institute of Social Sciences at the University of Belgrade has conducted a public opinion poll using a sample of 2,000 respondents, who are representative of the population above the age of 18 in the FRY (excluding Kosovo and Metohija, where conditions are inappropriate for surveys). The poll was conducted by Ljiljana Bacevic, the director of polling, Dragomir Pantic, the methodologist, Dijana Vukomanovic and Zoran Lutovac, from the polling organization, and Stanislav Fugelj, the programmer. The survey was conducted between 24 April and 9 May.

*Assembly system in crisis, governments without public confidence, politicians caught in a rut, a public hiding its political convictions.*

Below the surface, which is characterized by political languor and the opposition's powerlessness, as well as the authorities' reliance on force more than on politics, it is seen that the profound social crisis is not generating political behavior. In presenting the first part of the poll by the Institute of Social Sciences in the last issue of VREME, we noted the radicalization of public opinion and the growth of xenophobia. On the political level, it appears that everyone is losing, and that only one person is winning. But it appears that he too is growing stronger in the vacuum.

We will present this major survey in the form of an interview with commentary.

"Did you vote in the December elections? For what party did you vote in the elections for the republican assembly?"

In the poll, 30.1 percent of the electorate recalls voting for the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], while in Montenegro as many as 47.1 percent of those surveyed recalls voting for the DSP CG [Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro].

If there is no polling error, this figure from the delayed exit poll perhaps shows vividly how depressed citizens woo the authorities. It turns out that the ruling parties



have more voters "in recollection" than they did in the ballot boxes. Even more interesting is the fact that as many as one in ten respondents cannot remember for whom they voted. It is up to the pollsters to decipher the mystery of this "forgetfulness." The biggest differences between the election results and this delayed exit poll lie with the Serbian radicals, who were misplaced by three fourths of the voters. Only 7.6 percent of the respondents say that they voted for the SRS [Serbian Radical Party], while 17.5 percent of those surveyed in Serbia said that they voted for DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] and 6.5 percent for the Democratic Party [DS].

An above-average number of those who do not remember for whom they voted are: unemployed (12 percent), unskilled workers (14.3), private business people (14.4), and pensioners (14), which in turn indirectly reveals the "shame" of socialist voters, because the socialists get their votes primarily from farmers (39), unskilled workers (34), skilled workers (25), housewives (35), and pensioners (40). They govern with the help of the old social coalition, which has been functioning for years in such a way that poorly paid fathers, employed by state firms, struggle politically against unemployed children. One out of every five respondents of age says that they did not vote, which could also be an expression of dissatisfaction. Nearly one in three unemployed respondents (29.9 percent) says that they abstained from the election.

DEPOS does best with students (25 percent), with private business people and highly qualified office workers (18 percent each), and with the unemployed (22 percent). It is interesting that the unemployed (which are predominantly young people with above-average education), besides DEPOS, more obviously appreciate only the Peasant's Party of Serbia (17 percent) and the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro (13.5 percent). Thus, the tottering group around DEPOS could stand a chance if it understood that its voters are disenfranchised young people who are excluded from society, and if it tried to undermine the social coalition of the government and the threatened strata of workers in the state sector through an appropriate social program.

"If elections were held tomorrow, for which party would you vote?"

The responses are indicative in terms of how much they differ from the election results: 21.1 percent for the SPS, 7.3 percent for the SRS, 8.7 percent for DEPOS (12 percent when combined with votes cast for the DS and SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement]), 4.6 percent for the Democratic Party....

"Is there any other party that is close to you, for which you could perhaps vote?"

SRS (11 percent), Democratic Party (6.5 percent), SPS (3.9), SPO (1.9), DS (3.1), DEPOS (3.2).

These last figures indicate the identity confusion of DEPOS voters. The most striking impression that comes

from this question is that Seselj is taking votes away from the socialists. During the December elections, nearly 40 percent of the socialist voters declared that the Serbian Radical Party was their backup party, and vice versa. The current figures relating to the small number of respondents who are willing to vote show that Seselj could take significantly more votes away from the socialists because, according to this calculation, the socialists could count on 3.9 percent in addition to their safe 21.1 percent of the voters, while the Serbian radicals could increase their 7.3 percent in Serbia by another 11 percent, most likely at the expense of the socialists. The radicals have 10.6 percent of skilled workers, 8 percent of technicians and office workers, 8.9 percent of private business people, 6 percent of farmers, and slightly less unskilled workers. Thus, judging from these figures extreme nationalism should not be a proletarian phenomenon, but rather one of the lower middle class, as was the case in Germany. However, potential Seselj voters, judging from the question about a backup party, could begin to arrive precisely from those strata in which the socialists do best, meaning farmers, unskilled and skilled workers, and housewives. This time as well, the pollsters were unable to "grasp" the scope of voters for the Serbian Radical Party; their percentage in the survey surpasses the election results, just as it has surpassed every previous poll. Although a growth in the radical mood is reflected in this poll (VREME, last issue), which characterizes not only the voters of that party, for some reason the voters of the party do not want to identify themselves.

"Is there any party for which you would never vote?"

SPS (15.8 percent), SRS (15.8 percent in Serbia, and 28.8 percent of respondents in Montenegro would not vote for that party), DEPOS 12.2 percent, SPO 22.6 percent....

"Do you personally support, or are you opposed to the policy represented by Slobodan Milosevic?"

I support (42.6 percent); I am opposed (40.1 percent); I am undecided (30.5 percent).

"The leaders of some opposition parties are talking about organizing demonstrations against President Milosevic. How likely is it that you would participate in such demonstrations?"

Very unlikely (63.1 percent); Unlikely (13.4 percent); Likely (7.7 percent); Very likely (6.6 percent).

"Were the last elections fair?"

The last elections were fair for 43.7 percent of the respondents, they were unfair for 26.2 percent, while 30.5 percent was undecided. As many as 61 percent of those surveyed said that the media had no influence whatsoever on their election decision!

"If you had to choose between the policies advocated by Dobrica Cosic, Slobodan Milosevic, Momir Bulatovic, and Vojislav Seselj, which one would you choose?"

Dobrica Cosic (28.1); Slobodan Milosevic (25.5); Momir Bulatovic (10.5); Vojislav Seselj (8).

"Which politician do you trust most today?"

None (26 percent); Undecided (20.8 percent).

Thus, Slobodan Milosevic is first in the vacuum with 21.3 percent of freely expressed responses; he is also a little better in Montenegro (24.1) than in Serbia (20.5). Number two at the time of the survey was Dobrica Cosic, with 13.5, followed by Momir Bulatovic (3.5) and Vojislav Seselj (3.5). The fact that the public follows him both when he pursues a war policy and when effects a turnaround toward peace is perhaps an indication that his influence comes from the real power that he wields and from the desire for power that he demonstrates especially toward competitors, such as Panic or Cosic.

In October 1992, S. Milosevic had a 50-percent approval rating; in December, during the heat of the campaign, it dropped to 46 percent, and now after the election victory assessments have improved to 57.8 percent positive (32.7 percent very positive and 25.1 percent somewhat positive), although some of his moves against Karadzic could not have pleased the nationalists who support him. This could mean that with adversaries eliminated in this way, he would win the election (if it were to be held today) by a significantly greater margin than in December 1992.

This politician's negative ratings are weaker than before; while he got 42 percent "minus" in October 1992 and 40 percent in December, by May 35.7 percent of the electorate had a negative opinion of him (11.7 percent slightly negative and 23.6 percent very bad). Others enjoying such intensive support were Radovan Karadzic, with 30.5 percent most favorable and 28.9 percent somewhat favorable; he was followed by Momir Bulatovic (with 18.8 "very favorable" and 35.5 "somewhat favorable"). In addition, Bulatovic was assessed four times more favorably by respondents from Montenegro than by those from Serbia, but the percentage of most favorable assessments for Milosevic was relatively greater in Montenegro than in Serbia. The examples that follow indicate that some of his ratings may come from power.

Milan Panic, who held on to 45 "plus" points in December 1992 after achieving 76 percent in October, lost his broad but shallow support, and after losing the election, being replaced and leaving the country, departing from the political scene and from the post of federal prime minister, he was left with 31 percent. In May 1993, as many as 40 percent of those surveyed gave him a very unfavorable assessment. He is joined there by Bill Clinton (59.6 percent most unfavorable), Boris Yeltsin (55.3), and Francois Mitterrand (43.5), which is perhaps a sign that his fall personifies the crisis of the European option. That is the most serious indication of the entire ratings list.

Dobrica Cosic, who in October 1992 had an 83 percent positive and 9 percent negative assessment, had 70 percent "plus" and 8 percent "minus" in December, which can be described as a mild drop in esteem; in May, Dobrica Cosic was the first with an improved rating (79.8 percent positive, of which 33.1 percent very favorable and 46.7 percent somewhat favorable). One wonders whether Cosic's ratings would have been better if the survey had been done after he was replaced. Our public is a frightened teacher: In general, it gives higher ratings to people in power.

During the election campaign, Vojislav Seselj lowered the percentage of negative assessments from 56 to 46, and now, in May 1993, he has lowered even further the share of the electorate that finds him thoroughly insupportable (40.3 percent). On the other hand, he has maintained the number of positive assessments (in October 1992, 34 percent of those surveyed assessed him positively; in early December 38 percent, and in May 1993 35.5 percent; 14 percent give him very favorable assessments, and 21.5 percent somewhat favorable ones).

Dragoljub Micunovic stayed at the same level in terms of positive points—he had 33 percent positive at the end of last year and 29 percent in May (5.2 percent very and 23.8 percent somewhat, while his percentage of negative assessments dropped before the election from 51 to 30; now it is 53 percent).

Vojislav Kostunica maintained the percentage of those who appreciate him (around 31), while the negative rating that dropped before the election from 41 to 27 percent increased in May to 52.3 percent.

Vuk Draskovic has given off the most energy in the opposition; aside from middle-class liberal politicians who have less influence, he has been at conflict with the current regime the longest, which has earned him a large number of enemies. Through his campaign last fall, he lowered his negative rating from 67 percent in October 1992 to 58 percent, after which 54.9 percent of respondents had a negative assessment of Vuk Draskovic in May 1993. As far as positive points are concerned, he was at the same level in May as last fall (19 in May, previously 21 and 22). This means that he survived the major opposition depression of the first half of 1993 relatively unscathed. (Naturally, the survey was conducted before Draskovic's arrest and the campaign against him. After that event, the recomposition of the political terrain in Serbia probably began, the repercussions of which remain to be seen.)

Actually, there are no dramatic changes in the ratings list. As we saw in the December elections, assessments of politicians are not directly connected to voting behavior. They are a certain indication of a politician's limits, of the inferiority of public opinion, and of general fatigue. Incidentally, the manifold denial of all the actors on the political scene indicates one positive fact—the public is

saying that there are no uncontroversial leaders and that political resultants should be sought in parliament.

[Box, p 25]

"Now I will ask you about certain institutions in this country. For each about which you have a definite opinion, please state whether you have much, medium, little, or no confidence in it."

|                        | Much   | Medium  | Little  | None   |
|------------------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|
| Federal Assembly       | 8      | 26      | 30      | 25     |
| Federal Government     | 8      | 25      | 30      | 26     |
| Serbian Assembly       | 10     | 23      | 23      | 32     |
| Serbian Government     | 10     | 23      | 24      | 32     |
| Montenegrin Assembly   | 8 (20) | 23 (43) | 24 (24) | 20 (8) |
| Montenegrin Government | 9 (23) | 22 (41) | 23 (24) | 22 (9) |
| Yugoslav Armed Forces  | 28     | 28      | 18      | 19     |
| Yugoslav Police        | 20     | 29      | 21      | 24     |

The figures represent the assessments of all respondents. The figures in parentheses show that respondents in Montenegro have an assessment of their own assembly and government that is several times better, but even this exception only confirms the rule.

**Finale of Jugoskandik, Dafiment Bank Scandals**

93BA1195F Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 93 p 31

[Article by Branka Andjelkovic: "Empty Vaults"]

[Text] Although recently bankruptcy proceedings were instituted against Jugoskandik DD [joint-stock company] and Jugoskandik-Petrol, there seems no end in sight for the financial thriller involving the main participants in Jugoskandik Savings Bank and Dafiment Banka.

Milenko Radic, lawyer, believed that the hell will begin only now for many people who deposited their money: "There is a possibility of the government interpreting regulations as suits it and of not honoring those depositors as Jugoskandik's creditors. That would then mean that they would not be able to declare their claims against the bankruptcy estate, but would be referred to the Banka Privatne Privrede [Private Business Bank] in Podgorica, as in fact the government of Serbia suggested to depositors following Jezda's flight. The depositors would derive no benefit whatsoever,

because a proposal was recently filed for bankruptcy proceedings against that bank, so that Vasiljevic's depositors would have to declare their claims to the bankruptcy court in Podgorica."

Although courts in Serbia have granted some depositors execution proceedings, which means confiscation of Jugoskandik's movable property and in some cases even its sale, this will have to be interrupted until bankruptcy proceedings are completed. The epilogue will probably not be more favorable for those creditors. Most of Jezdimir Vasiljevic's property has already been carted away in the stampede of looters.

Dafina's depositors, especially those with a deposit of 1 mark [DM], DM1.5, seem to have something to hope for. This, according to a statement by Mrs. Milanovic, primarily applies to individuals in the interior. They represent about 5 percent of all the depositors. The beginning of payment is announced for 1 July. There is a fear that payment will proceed at the same pace as was imposed on the audit of Dafiment's financial business by experts of the National Bank of Serbia [NBS]. Although that report should have been submitted to the Board of Governors of the NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia] back in early June, at present nothing is known about its fate. However, Mr. Radic says that auditing authorities of the NBJ and NBS have neither done nor are they doing any audit whatsoever of Dafiment Banka.

"The only thing that is possible is that Dafiment Banka has itself asked for an audit to be done of its business in order to create conditions for covering losses."

In the meantime, the Fourth Opstina Court in Belgrade is deluged with suits against Mrs. Dafina's bank. However, even those who have won their cases have no benefit, because there is no money in the vaults of Dafiment Banka. There is already the well-known case of Ljiljana Momcilovic of Belgrade, who with a court verdict pronouncing a temporary measure was unable to get her money and post it as a deposit with the court. After several postponements, the court authorities opened the main vault in the branch at the London intersection, and what they found in it was nothing.

According to Radic, nevertheless, Dafiment Banka will most probably soon be able to resume operation, because it will get funds from primary note issue and will pay out the small deposits (some DM100 a month), and that is the maximum which the government will give it in an attempt to cover itself and its illegal business operation. Thus, although illiquid, this bank will probably do business in the same way as Investbanka, Jugobanka, and Beobanka.... Will there be criminal charges at all, then, against Jezdimir Vasiljevic and Dafina Milanovic for the fraud committed, and will they go to court? After all, some criminal charges filed several months ago have not been taken up even today.



**Serbia**

**Milosevic: Division of Bosnia Only Solution**

*LD1607203393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1030  
GMT 15 Jul 93*

[Text] Tokyo, July 15 (TANJUG)—President Slobodan Milosevic of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia has said that a three-way division of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the only solution that can bring peace at this point. There is no reason why the Bosnian Moslem leadership should not accept that solution, Milosevic said in an interview published in the Japanese daily YOMIURI SHIMBUN on Thursday, on the eve of the resumption of the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Milosevic said in the interview to the daily with the highest circulation in both Japan and the world that, under the proposal for a three-way division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Moslems were even to get territories not captured in the war and they should, therefore, be satisfied with the proposed solution and accept it.

Bosnian Serbs and Croats have agreed in talks in Geneva that the former Yugoslav republic should be a confederation of three national republics—Moslem, Serb and Croat. The Bosnian Moslem leadership, whose insistence on a unitary state had led to the outbreak of the 16-month war, has not yet taken a final stand on the confederal proposal.

The president of Serbia said the Geneva talks would produce results now that the international community had stopped blaming only Serbs and held all three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina equally responsible. Milosevic reiterated that Serbia was not helping Bosnian Serbs fight the war but was only sending them humanitarian aid as it had done even so far.

Asked about the possibility of an eventual unification of all Serb territories, Milosevic said the people had a strong aspiration to live together and it was only a matter of time when that wish would come true. The population of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (RS), created by Bosnian Serbs after the Croat-Moslem leadership took the decision on Bosnia-Herzegovina's secession from the former Yugoslavia, and the population of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), proclaimed within the former administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia after Croatia's secession, have decided in referendums to unite mutually and have expressed a wish for the unification of all Serb territories.

Speaking about Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija, Milosevic said it could never be separated from Serbia and Albanians should know that. A strong ethnic-Albanian separatist movement has been active in Kosovo-Metohija. Its leaders have illegally proclaimed "the Republic of Kosovo" and want, supported by Tirana, to join it to neighbouring Albania. Ethnic Albanian leaders have not given up their secessionist plans,

although they have been clearly told more than once by world statesmen that, as a national minority, they have no right to a state of their own.

**'War Criminal' Arkan on Activities, UN Blockade**

*LD1607224893 Budapest MTV Television Network in  
Hungarian 1905 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Unattributed interview with Zeljko Raznjatovic, a deputy in the Serbian parliament; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] The racist, nationalist Arkan, who is allegedly wanted by Interpol for bank robberies, and who is accused of war crimes and massacres as well, has become a deputy in the Serbian parliament. Deputy Arkan, alias Zeljko Raznjatovic, is a pub landlord in civilian life and a commander of a terror commando group. Arkan hates Hungarians and, as we can hear, is shouting ridiculous accusations about Hungary just because we observe the UN embargo.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] In the world's eyes you have the reputation of being a war criminal. Do you know that?

[Raznjatovic, in Serbo-Croat, with superimposed Hungarian translation] Well, I am very proud of it. I can only say that I spit upon what the world says. As the English say, it is not worth a fig what is said about me. Have you got it? Is it clear?

[Correspondent] At that time there were reports on your armed men who killed several Muslims in the Bosnian Bjeljina. Is that true?

[Raznjatovic] There are official figures on it. In fighting at Bjeljina, 41 people lost their lives—six Serbs and the others were extremist Albanians and Muslims. That is to say, what is said is nothing to do with the truth. Do you understand that? Nothing to do with reality. I have spoken clearly, have I not?

[Correspondent] Are not you afraid that one day you will be prosecuted?

[Raznjatovic] I am not interested in the court, I could not care less. I am a Serbian and I am accountable only to God and the Serbian people. Do you understand this?

[Correspondent] Mr. Arkan, how can Serbia evade the international blockade?

[Raznjatovic] In a way that Serbia has to survive the blockade. And we, you can believe me, will not forget who our friends were during the blockade and who our enemy was. Do you understand? What Hungary does now—it does not allow consignments of medicine to Yugoslavia—this is outrageous. Serbian children are dying in hospitals because there is not enough medicine. Does the Hungarian public opinion know about this?

[Correspondent] But you also know well that this is not Hungary but your armed men who have been killing children in Sarajevo, which is attacked by your men, as well as in other Bosnian towns.

[Raznjatovic] This is not true. Humanitarian aid can get through to Sarajevo unharmed. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Will this war stop or spread over the Balkans, in your opinion?

[Raznjatovic] Everything is possible. If the economic blockade against Serbia is continued in this way, and you, Hungarians, strictly observe the UN blockade, it can happen that you as well get mixed up in this war. Do you understand? [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] But you cannot oppose the entire world, can you?

[Raznjatovic] Well, our country is small, but our heart, the Serbs' heart, is enormous. [passage omitted] And if necessary, if you make further problems for us in the future, we will again lecture you, my dear friend.

[Correspondent] By force, by weapon?

[Raznjatovic] Yes, if we are attacked, we will defend ourselves. And then we will again defeat you.

[Correspondent] How many people do you have, what kind of forces do you have?

[Raznjatovic] This is a war secret, please. But I can tell you that I am stronger than your Hungarian Army. I have more soldiers than the entire Hungarian Army.

[Correspondent] Volunteers?

[Raznjatovic] Yes. My army is trained in an excellent way. I can say that it is the best in Europe.

[Correspondent] Where do you get your weapons?

[Raznjatovic] We confiscate them from the enemy. The arms which are transported from Hungary to Croats are all mine. I have nicely grabbed them.

[Correspondent] In the Croatian Krajina your people are struggling with serious problems.

[Raznjatovic] What? Perhaps sexual problems. The boys do not find women for themselves. What kind of problems are you talking about?

[Correspondent] When we were there...

[Raznjatovic interrupts] Nonsense!

[Raznjatovic] When we were there, your people clashed even with the local Serbian authorities. For example, with Interior Minister martic.

[Correspondent] Martic is an honest Serbian man. We have no problems with him, and he has none with us. [passage omitted]

### Serbia Seen Turning Into Police State

93BA1193C Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA  
(SUPPLEMENT) in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Gradisa Katic: "Time of 'Truncheon Elite': Guardians of Party Order"]

[Text] *There are seven police officers for every 1,000 Serbian citizens. In normal countries like England, there are two "bobbies" for every 1,000 inhabitants; in very unstable countries in South America or Africa there are four for every 1,000 people, while dictatorial regimes rarely have more than five police officers for every 1,000 people. Moreover, the recruitment of new policemen in Serbia is still going on.*

If the Serbian regime and its top man do not consider over the next few months that "something has to change here," it will not be long before Serbia has an elite that has, at least for now, no parallel in history: a "blue elite" in the form of the Serbian police. It seems ridiculous, but the average Belgrade policeman over the past 20 months has earned twice as much as, say, a top-class physician, a doctor of science, or a high-ranking military officer. He earns three times as much as a teacher, a journalist, or a miner, for example, four times as much as the average worker, and eight times as much as the average pension....

The Serbian state allocates three times more of its budget to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (20 percent) than to the Ministry of Defense (8 percent). The number of active Serbian policemen is between 60,000 and 70,000, plus reserves. In other words, there are seven police officers for every 1,000 Serbian citizens, which is apparently a new world record, because in normal countries like England, there are two "bobbies" for every 1,000 inhabitants; in very unstable countries in Latin America or Africa there are four "guardians of law and order" for every 1,000 people, while in dictatorships that number is rarely more than five police officers for every 1,000 people.

However, in our country even this figure is apparently inadequate, because the recruitment of police officers has been going on for months now. At least two things can be surmised from these figures. The regime is in a panicked fear of a violent takeover of power by the Serbian opposition, primarily by Vuk Draskovic and his SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement]. Another variant: Milosevic has lost his confidence in the military, which in recent times has lost a considerable number of battles and wars, and if the crisis centers in Kosovo and Sandzak are activated the police will very quickly be transformed into elite units of the Serbian military, which do not exist at the moment.

However, it could be that both variants are valid.

Whenever any sort of serious demonstrations are expected in Belgrade, at least one third of the local police arrive in the capital from all of Serbia's cities to help out.

In order to avoid any surprises, on both 9 March and 1 June of this year a special air connection was opened between Pristina and Batajnica and the most elite special units of our police force traveled to Batajnica by transport plane where they awaited orders, as tense as a finger on a trigger. They stayed here for five or six days, put up in empty Belgrade hotels, until the situation "normalized." Afterward they received monetary rewards for a job successfully completed, which in these times cannot be underestimated (around 100 German marks).

The fact that the people in the regime are taking the long view of things is indicated by the fact that numerous special brigades have been formed at several police states, made up of people with a "category D" driver's license. In the event that the GSB [expansion unknown], in collusion with "those Veselinov people," organizes a general strike, then the people will be driven by the national police. To some, this may seem like a good joke, but one group of policemen is just now completing training to drive streetcars. We assume that there are also plans to train for trolley buses.

When everything goes to hell, perhaps the police will also teach children in the schools, operate on patients in hospitals, bake bread at bakeries, sell groceries, and so on!?

There is no doubt that this police force is absolutely partisan. However, the extreme limit of this political-ideological indoctrination, which falls short of every criterion of humanness, is best illustrated by the statement by one policeman, who told your reporter several days ago, verbatim:

"Well, we had to beat him (Vuk Draskovic). I mean, can you imagine what kind of person it is who does not have any children of his own, so that he brings other people's for them to die in front of the Assembly building. So he was marked by God." (The editors know the policeman's name.)

It is also hard to imagine what someone is putting into the heads of these people in blue uniforms on a daily basis. It would actually be interesting to know, especially when such low and inhuman blows are used against a political adversary, in addition to nightsticks.

It seems paradoxical, but despite their numbers and their seemingly good internal organization, the success of our police is almost catastrophic. Despite a nearly exhausting and desperate battle, dealers in foreign exchange and cigarette vendors continue to survive on the streets. Petty theft, on buses and in apartments, and grand theft—the banks steal from the people every day—but hardly anyone is behind bars. The perpetrators of several mysterious murders, beginning with Beli and including Knele, have never been found. Recently, Knele's father publicly expressed his suspicion that Aleksandar Knezevic was killed by two federal policemen because Knele, in his words, was supposed to kill Milan Panic. They have not even found the murderer of policeman Nedeljko (on 9 March 1991), nor the policeman who killed the child Brana Milinovic on the same day. Since an "ongoing investigation" has been

launched, it will be a major success if the murderer of policeman Milorad Nikolic is found, even though four demonstrators want to help the police with their testimony: Apparently, the police are unable or unwilling to believe their testimony, which indicates that the policeman was killed by Jovan Milosevic, a member of the Serbian Radical Party from Cuprija.

Perhaps the fact that the police will soon become the Serbian military is indicated very convincingly by information concerning its increasingly well-armed state and the increasingly frequent physical training exercises in the form of marching. Insiders say that during such marches they carry mortars in addition to Kalashnikovs. The arsenal is clearly worthy of respect, given the fact that many olive-drab tanks were recently repainted blue and stationed in Kosovo.

Military officers simply do not know what to say about the announcement of the promotion of a new class of policemen in Kamenica made by the former head of security, Slobodan Milosevic, which more or less states that "We (policemen) are preparing to defend the country."

For now, as long as there is some sort of peace, all the brutality of the "truncheon elite" is directed at the Serb, Muslim, and Albanian political alternative. According to police sources, this brutality will be even worse in coming days, which is confirmed by new equipment including long truncheons, hitherto unknown in this region.

The fact that this sizable party-military organization is not that elite, as it perhaps often (un)consciously depicts itself, is indicated by the fact that the 15 people who entered the SPO offices and arrested the Draskovics included one policeman, known previously to your reporter, from the Serb part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who was born in 1967, completed secondary engineering school, fled to Belgrade to escape the war, could not find work, and joined the police four months ago in order to survive. And now just imagine: He is a member of the elite operations brigade from Banovo Brdo that arrested Vuk.

Still, the authorities cannot be completely satisfied with the control situation, especially if the situation is regarded from the opposite angle. The police are loyal to their master as long as they are paid, especially if they are well-paid. However, despite years of loyalty training they will easily accept another master tomorrow, be it Seselj, Veselinov, Micunovic, or Draskovic. After all, the majority of them were loyal to Josip Broz for years, but they quickly changed their orientation.

That is what our police are like, and there cannot be any other kind as long as the chief of police and the head of the mafia publicly sit down at the same table.



**Macedonia****Government Increases Petrol Prices by 33 Percent***AU1707124693 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 16 Jul 93*

[Unattributed report: "Petrol Prices Go Up"]

[Text] The Macedonian Government has decided to raise the price of all petroleum products by an average of 33 percent.

One liter of "Super" and unleaded petrol will cost 16.00 denars, while the regular petrol will be 15.50 denars per liter and diesel will be 12.50 denars.

**Kosovo****Bukoshi Calls For U.S. Troop Deployment***AU1607204893 Tirana ATA in English 1027 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Tirana, July 16 (ATA)—The chairman of the government of the republic of Kosova, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, issued a communique recently on the latest situation in Kosova. It says:

"The government of the republic of Kosova is deeply worried over the evident escalation of tension in our territory by the Serbian police and Army. It has become common in Kosova, the present general situation is becoming even more threatening in Kosova and broader. The pending question on the mandate of the CSCE mission has given free hand to the forces of the Serbian Army to intensify their pressure.

"In such conditions, when deep sorrow may lead to clashes, the world should make its contribution to prevent the application of the scenario. Kosova appeals to the governments of the CSCE members states to exert pressure so that its decisions be executed. In this context, the decision of the meeting of the CSCE Council in Stockholm on the positive influence of the UN prevention forces in Kosova should be executed.

"The government of Kosova hails every effort to prevent the spread of the armed conflict in the territory of former Yugoslavia and broader. We hail particularly the arrival of U.S. soldiers in neighbouring Macedonia, as a concrete, efficient preventive act. We also hail the good aims and work of United Nations in this aspect. Their presence is also a guarantee for us and we are waiting for them to be deployed in Kosova soon. We think that Macedonia and the region may be destabilized and involved in a war in case it bursts in Kosova. Therefore, we hold that Kosova will be saved, first of all, if UN

forces are brought, as the secretary general envisages in the brochure *An Agenda for Peace* and by the above CSCE decision. Only when these two things will be realised, this region will be guaranteed. We invite international community, the UN, and states that may contribute so that this decision be taken immediately.

"The people of Kosova is not alone and hopeless. The government is making its best to hold under its control the hatred which keeps growing in order to avoid the worst, because in case it becomes a reality, we know how to act. But this would be a dear price for the region. Therefore, we ask you to help the government of Kosova to keep the situation under control," the communique of the premier of the republic of Kosova, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, says.

**DSK Leader Rugova Appeals for UN Protection***LD1607162193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Pristina, 16 Jul (TANJUG)—Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosova (DSK), sent an appeal today to all international forums requesting them to reach a decision on the placing of Kosova under UN protection as soon as possible. Rugova believes that this would be the first step toward the prevention of conflicts in this region.

The DSK leader welcomes the deployment of foreign troops in Macedonia and, when reminded by reporters that only 300 troops are involved, he added that this is a symbolic, but nevertheless important deterrent for the prevention of possible conflicts. He also assessed that the extension of the CSCE mission's mandate would secure peace in these parts.

Commenting on the talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Andreas Kol [not further identified] Rugova declared that "the people's desire for Kosova's self-determination is not separatism, but a way to get out of the present situation."

Milosevic's accusations that these people are "terrorists", in Rugova's opinion, "do not hold water because the Albanians have affirmed themselves in the world precisely because of the peaceful policies they are pursuing."

Rugova, who was speaking at a news conference, said Kosova is "an international issue, and not Serbia's internal affair."

The DSK president today also "replied" to Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis' recent statements on Kosova, and remarked that "unfortunately, pressure has been exerted from the south on Albania and the Albanians in general for quite some time now." Rugova added: "If Cyprus can be a state, why not Kosova?"

**Serb Police Harassment Could Ignite Conflict**

*AU1607185793 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in  
Albanian 1330 GMT 16 Jul 93*

[Text] Since 6 July, as a result of the increased violence against the activists of the Kosova Independent Trade Union, 198 members of the union have been raided, arrested, and physically and mentally harassed. This has been going on recently in the communes of Peje, Decan, Gjakove, Kline, and Istog.

The Kosova Independent Trade Union says that such repressive measures are aimed at threatening the Albanian population on the one hand, and hindering the trade unionist activity of this [word indistinct] on the other.

Raising the voice of protest against such actions, the Kosova trade union warns that a conflict with serious dimensions and consequences could be ignited in these places. If so, the responsibility falls on the Serbian authorities, which, through such actions in Kosova, are attempting to divert the attention from the serious situation it has created in Serbia.